

HISTORY OF THE TAMILS

From the earliest times to 600 A. D.

BY

P. T. SRINIVAS IYENGAR, M. A.,

Reader in Indian History, Madras University



C. COOMARASAWMY NAIDU & SONS,

MADRAS:

1929

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RAMA VARMA RESEARCH INSTITUTE.

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PREFACE

This book is the result of my research work as Reader in Indian History, during the Academic year 1928-29. A part of the subject matter of the book was delivered as University Lectures in July of this year. I render thanks to Mr. A. Appadurai Ayyar for helping to prepare the Indexes.

P. T. S.

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INTRODUCTION

Scope of the History :

If by history is meant the story of the rise and fall of royal dynasties consequent on the slaughter of an immense number of human beings on the field of battle in the name of heroism, the tale of the displacement on the map of the world of large masses of humanity, eager to plunder the wealth accumulated by the patient toil of peaceful people, the narrative of the rape of royal maidens and the shedding of innocent blood in revenge for the outrage, then Tamil India is the happy country which has had no history to recount upto 600 A. D. On the other hand if history means the account of the slow evolution of the social and religious life of a people under the stimulus of the geographical conditions of the environment and the influence of contact with peoples who have developed different kinds of culture, the description of the slow change in the ways in which they ate and drank, played and loved, sang and danced, paid court to kings and to gods, the relation of the story of the development of their internal trade and commerce with foreign countries, far and near, the narration of the evolution of their literature from humble beginnings till a complicated scheme of literary convention was established, there are ample materials for the reconstruction of the history of the Tamils from the earliest times upto 600 A. D. This story is attempted to be recounted in this book.

The stone tools of the different stages of the palaeolithic and neolithic periods of human culture have been collected, though unsystematically, by various people and lodged in Indian museums. An account of the kind of life led by the Tamil people in those far off ages, based on the silent testimony of stone artifacts has been given by me in the *Stone Age in India*.¹ Their social, religious, political and industrial life as revealed to a small extent by the artifacts of the early iron age and to a very large extent by a consideration of the vocabulary they possessed before they came in touch with the civilization of the Āryas of North India, has been described by me in my *Pre-Aryan Tamil culture*.² The present work is an attempt to recount the history of the Tamils such as can be derived from what has been saved, from the jealous hands of time, of their own ancient literature and from references to them in Sanskrit, Pali, Greek, Latin and other early records, literary and otherwise.

Sources of the History :

The Vedic literature, by which I mean, the Mantras and the Brāhmaṇas (which together are the Vedas), and the Sūtras which contain the early concepts of the Āryas with regard to the objects and the conduct of individual and social life, as well as the Itihāsas (the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata) and the Puranas, besides the early Pali, Bauddha and the Arddha Māgadhī Jaina works i.e., all the available Aryan sources have been ransacked for information. It goes without saying that the kind of information obtainable from such sources will deal only with

¹ Published by the University of Madras, 1926.

² Published 1929.

the intercourse of the Āryas with the Tamils. In using the Ancient North Indian tradition, and especially that which is recorded in the Puranas, I have almost entirely followed Pargiter's critical method and his conclusions. One most illuminating suggestion of his is that the Agastyas, Vasisthas, and Viśvāmitras mentioned in the Sanskrit works, were not each one man who baffles the reader by appearing and reappearing in every age from that of Ikṣvāku to that of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, but were a series of men, their names being family names and not personal names. This idea has reduced chaos to order and enabled Pargiter to frame fairly accurate lists of the sequence of kings in various ancient North Indian provinces, which I generally follow. These lists have enabled me to trace the gradual spread of Aryan cults in South India in the Vedic epoch.

Non-Indian sources of information, such as the Mesopotamian and Egyptian inscriptions, and Greek and Latin works, necessarily deal only with India's ancient commercial intercourse with countries to her west. These have been very thoroughly studied and utilized by Schoff in his edition of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* and Warmington in his *Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*. These two books I have analysed and rearranged the well-documented information given in them, epoch by epoch, correlating it to what little information is available from the Indian side.

But the staple crop I have garnered for the purpose of this book is the Tamil literature of the period before 600 A.D. Practically the earliest book I have based much of my deductions on, is the *Poruḷadigāram* of *Tolkūppiyam*. That book directly aims at describing the literary conventions of the literature that preceded

its composition, and I have treated those conventions as representing the actual customs and manners of the people who lived for a millenium or two preceding its date. Much more direct is the evidence of the many poems of different ages, collected in the *Togainūrkai*, the anthologies, which have preserved a small percentage of the immense literature of the early Tamils. These poems have been to a small extent already utilized by two scholars. V. Kanakasabhai first ploughed the virgin soil and produced his *Tamils Eighteen Hundred years Ago*, which deals mainly with the stories of ancient Tamil Kings and incidentally with the life of the people. Great Tamil scholar as he was, he was suffering from a disability; in his time many of these ancient books had not been printed: so he was responsible for many errors which have led to the formation of some historical myths. The ripe scholar, S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, Professor of Indian history and Archaeology, Madras University, has ferreted out all the references to the names of kings and chieftains of ancient times, contained in the old Tamil poems, and discussed them in his several works; but he has not discussed the social history of the early ages or its evolution, and it is about the actual life of the people age by age that the early literature is extremely rich in information. In fact the *embarrass de riches* is very great and I fear I have not worked up even one fourth of the matter that could be mined from the early literature alone. As the information I have culled is mostly absolutely new, I have done what previous writers have not done, and what may almost vex those of my readers who do not know Tamil, i.e., covered nearly one third of every chapter based on Tamil literature with original texts in support of every one of my statements.

It is almost unnecessary to add that the Tamil extracts which I have translated for this purpose abound in old words and antiquated grammatical forms. As even the commentators sometimes, though rarely, go astray in interpreting them, I have not hesitated to differ from them, when I, perhaps somewhat presumptuously, thought them wrong. Even if the texts were plain, it would be difficult to translate them, as Tamil and English are so far apart from each other in structure. Added to this, the fact that Tamil poets, especially of the later periods (V and VI century A. D.) indulged in lavishly heaping phrase on phrase, epithet on epithet, makes a straight translation almost impossible. But as the translations are for a historical purpose, I have attempted in every case a literal translation, even defying English idiom occasionally. But yet I hope the translations will prove readable. I request that Tamil scholars will kindly bring to my notice all cases where they think my translations are wrong. However I do not think I have misrepresented the text anywhere.

Chronology :

If chronology is the eye of History, Ancient Indian History will have to be always blind. But students of the evolution of the life of people may well be contented with a knowledge of the sequence of events, actual, i.e. arithmetically correct dates, being scarcely necessary for the purpose. Ancient Indian chronology is and will continue to be in an unsettled condition, and so afford ample room for patriotic megalomania and prejudiced micromania. The date of the beginning of the Vedic period was fixed to

be 1200 B. C. at a time when, on account of the dominance of Archbishop Usher's chronology the world was believed to have been created in 4004 B.C. Though since that time, geologists have demanded that at least a hundred thousand years should be allotted to the past history of man and though the traces of the Saindhava culture have been unearthed at Harappa and Mohenjō Daro, going back to 3,000 B. C. and more, where the influence of Ārya ideas is not imperceptible, the inertia which the incredibly low date for the beginning of the Vedic period has acquired during the last hundred years, prevents European scholars from reconsidering the decision. From Pargiter's lists we learn that about 90 generations of kings ruled before the Bhārata battle; and if, as many considerations tend to prove, that battle took place in the XV century B.C., the Vedic period must have begun long before the third millennium B. C. An Ārya one-fire cult must have flourished for a long time before the Vedic three-fire cult was evolved. Thus we reach 3,000 B. C. for the beginnings of the Ārya worship of fire. The problem cannot be discussed here, but I shall content myself with saying that I assume the Vedic period to have begun circa 3,000 B. C., that that period extended over three yugas of five centuries each. Rāmacandra lived at the end of the second third part of the vedic age; hence I assume his date to be 2,000 B. C. This date has the one virtue of being confirmed by the tradition that when he was born five 'stars' were in the ascendant. Five hundred years is a fair estimate for the length of time that elapsed between Śrī Rāma and Śrī Kṛṣṇa. This brings us to the end of the Vedic period, the traditional beginning of the Kali age with the death of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and the severance

of the long line of mantra-composers. Indian chronology becomes easier, though not necessarily correct after the Bhārata battle. But we are chiefly concerned with the sequence of events and not actual dates which it is hopeless to try to attain.

With regard to South Indian dates, even these cloudy conceptions are beyond reach. Kanakasabhai imagined that he could get reliable dates for certain persons. But this has proved to be māyā. The utmost we can get is some vague sequences of events till we reach 600 A. D. after which time a few inscriptions have helped us to get a few reliable dates.

Transcription :

The transliteration of Sanskrit into Romie is the same as that adopted by most Sanskrit scholars. For the sake of Tamil words I have adopted a few more, namely, h for ह, ā, for अ, ē, for ए, ō, for ओ, r for र, and l for ल. I have not used a special symbol for ऋ, for in modern pronunciation it cannot be distinguished from n. The writing of Tamil in Romie presents a special difficulty. In the Tamil alphabet many consonant-symbols do duty for two sounds and if Romie transliteration is not also phonetic, it loses its meaning. I have therefore rendered my pronunciation of Tamil words in the Romie script and I think my pronunciation is fairly "correct;" at least every Tamil man can follow it. Another difficulty I had to face, that caused by the fact that when the same words appear both in the Sanskrit and the Tamil garb, a contradiction in transliteration appears. I have spelt these words in the Sanskrit form, when the context required one to think in Sanskrit and in the Tamil form, when the context required the Tamil one. This may preplex readers who do not know one of the two languages, but I do not see that it would be possible to avoid this contradiction.

2 OCT 1931

THE HISTORY OF THE TAMILS FROM The Earliest Times to 600 A.D.

CHAPTER I

THE GEOGRAPHICAL BASIS OF THE ANCIENT CULTURE OF THE TAMILS

The Tamils, indigenous to South India :

If the culture of a people is indigenous to the soil on which they live, if it appears to have grown in situ before they came in contact with other people, it must be solely due to the influence of their physical surroundings. A culture that has grown as the reaction of a people to their milieu is due to geographical and not historical causes, like the influence of foreign people who have come in touch with them by conquest or trade or other forms of peaceful intercourse. We are in a position to trace the growth of human culture in Tamil India, from stage to stage, in ancient times, to the action of the physical environment on the human organism. Several writers of Indian History seem to hold it as a necessary axiom that the fertile lands of India, with her wonderful wealth of minerals underground and her infinitely various fauna and flora overground, and with her climate, insular in some parts and

continental in others, pre-eminently fitted to nurture men, especially in the early stages of their evolution, should yet depend on importations from the arid countries beyond her borders for her human inhabitants and for the various cultures that adorn the pages of her history. Some writers conduct the ancient "Dravidians" with the self-confidence of a Cook's guide through the North-western or North-eastern mountain passes of India and drop them with a ready-made foreign culture on the banks of the Kāvīri or the Vaigai. The slender evidence on which they rely for this elaborate theorizing is the fact that Brāhmi, a dialect spoken in the northern corner of India, possesses a few words allied to Tamil words. The only legitimate inference from this is that the Tamil language or a language allied to it prevailed up to the North-west province in ancient times. This inference is supported by another fact, viz., that the modern dialects of Northern India, now called Sanskritic or Gaudian, have a fundamental grammatical framework and a scheme of syntax, the same as that of the Dravidian dialects, so much so that sentences from the one set of dialects can be translated into any one of the other set of dialects by the substitution of word for word, without causing any breach of idiom. These facts can only prove that people speaking dialects allied to Tamil once inhabited the whole of India and not that these people must necessarily have come into India from outside the country. No single fact has yet been adduced that compels us to believe that the ancient people of India were not autochthones.

Moreover the artefacts and other relics of ancient times discovered so far in Southern India form an unbroken series, showing that there has been in this country

a regular evolution of culture, which was never rendered discontinuous by any catastrophe, from the lowest palaeolithic stage to the latest age of metals.¹ The Tamil language existed in South India during the course of this evolution. The words necessary for the linguistic expression of every stage of this culture, are found in the earliest strata of Tamil, and the customs of these early ages continued sufficiently long to be enshrined in the earliest extant specimens of Tamil literature.² It may therefore be taken as fairly certain that the Tamils were indigenous to South India.

The five regions :

The ancient Tamils noted that the habitable parts of the earth's surface were divisible into five natural regions; they named each region a *tinai*. *Tinai* seems to be derived from a root *tin* or *tiṭ*, which means a stretch of land. The word *tinai* is also used in the sense of the earth in general. The ancient Tamils observed not only that the land surface of the earth consisted of five natural regions, but that the manifestation of human life corresponded to the characteristics of the milieu in which each tribe has grown. The five regions were called (1) *Kuṟiñṇi*, the hilly country, (2) *Pālai*, the dry waterless region, (3) *Mullai*, the wooded land between the highlands and the lowlands, (4) *Marudam*, the lower courses of rivers, and (5) *Neydal*, the littoral tract, that which skirts the sea. All these five kinds of natural regions are found in the

¹ For the evidences for this statement, vide my *Stone Age in India*, published by the Madras University.

² For an elaborate proof of this, vide my *Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture*.

Tamil country, though on a small scale and, as the South Indian spread from region to region, he developed the stages of culture which each region was calculated to produce.

Anthropologists have noted three great regions as the three great areas of characterization of three different kinds of human culture. These kinds of culture have been called the Mediterranean, the Alpine and the Nordic, the first two being so named, because the action of the milieu on the evolution of human culture was first understood when the culture of the regions round the Mediterranean Sea and the lands on both sides of the Alps were studied and the last, because the third area of characterization was in the north of Eurasia. The Mediterranean culture, to use Tamil terms, is that of Neydal, the Alpine, that of Kuṛiñji, and the Nordic, that of Mullai. The most important, the culture of Marudam, or the lower valleys of rivers, was neglected because Western Europe having become thoroughly industrialized in the XIX century, the influence of river-valleys on European peoples in ancient days has become masked. Nor is there any desert in Europe, as there is a belt of it in Africa and Asia; the desert is the area of characterization of Bedouin life and this, too, has but received scant attention on the part of students of ethnology. The stages of culture through which man has passed are then five, the hunter, the nomad, the pastoral, the littoral and the agricultural, the last including the industrial stage; and these correspond to the Kuṛiñji, the Pālai, the Mullai, the Neydal and the Marudam regions. The physical characteristics of each region provided the stimulus for the development of the special culture of that region.

The hunter :

The earliest region inhabited by South Indian man was the Kuriñji, the tracts where stand the low hills resulting from the age-long erosion of the Deccan plateau by the never-failing yearly monsoon rains. Below the hilly regions was the thickly wooded tropical forest, named after the king Dandaka, in which abounded the rivals of early man in the struggle for existence, his big-limbed foes, the lion, the tiger, the elephant, the wild buffalo, the python, as well as the minute insect pests which are even more destructive of human life than the larger animals. In the Kuriñji, early man could easily find shelter from the sun and the rain and from his animal foes, behind boulders and within natural caves. He had not then invented pots for storing water, but when the natural spring failed him, he found reservoirs of water in the rocky pits which abounded in the hilly region. The pebble that he could pick up from under his feet served him as a primitive tool; the abundant supply of flints of various shapes stimulated his inventiveness and he learnt to shape the axe-heads, and the spears, the choppers and the scrapers that he needed. Hence was evolved in this region the earliest stage of human culture, that called palæolithic; the artefacts belonging to this stage are chiefly found in the Kuriñji regions which abound in the Cuddapah, Nellore, North Arcot and Chingleput districts.

Early man in Kuriñji land at first subsisted on fruits, nuts and tubers. But the variations in the supply of these articles of food due to seasonal changes soon impelled him to add the flesh of animals to his dietary. This fact, more than the necessity for guarding himself

against his animal foes, made him an expert huntsman. Hence man's first profession was that of the hunter. Palæolithic implements all the world over are of the same patterns and this proves that the early hunter was a great wanderer over the surface of the earth.

This environment in the Kuriñji regions also led to two other very great inventions of the hunter-stage of human culture, namely the bow and arrow, and the process of making fire. The bamboo grows abundantly in the Kuriñji regions of Southern India and the Kuravar, as the inhabitants of that land were called, shrewdly noted the elasticity of the split trunks of the bamboo, bent them, tied long bits of dried creeper to them and learnt to shoot thence long thoros. This was the origin of the bow, in the use of which the Indian hillman has always been an expert, as is proved by the facts that the Indian Bowman was a much prized component of the armies of Darius and Xerxes, and the Indian shikari to-day can kill a tiger by discharging a single arrow from his bow.

The other invention of the early Kuravar, the greatest of human inventions, was the making of fire. Early in the palæolithic age, the inhabitants of the Kuriñji land noted the origin of forest fires by the violent friction of bamboo stems against one another during the fierce monsoon blow and learnt therefrom that he could start a fire by rubbing together two pieces of wood. The first use to which fire was put was the roasting of the meat of the animals which he hunted.

Hunter women:

While the males of the settlement were out hunting, the women were engaged in picking fruits

digging for roots, and garnering the seeds of the cereals that grew of their own accord around their places of abode, especially wild rice, bamboo-rice, and panicum.

The other duty of women was to look after their children. Man at this stage of culture did not learn to build houses. They were scarcely necessary, for the South Indian climate was so beneficent that no shelter other than the covert afforded by trees or big boulders or natural caves was needed for protection from sun and rain. Houses were first built by man not so much for shelter as for the storage of primitive wealth in the form of food-stuffs and the early palæolithic man had not yet felt the need for storing provisions. The necessities of a nomad life and the want of permanent homes did not encourage the free development of domestic instincts on the part of the men; hence the matriarchal form of tribal life was first developed.

Another circumstance encouraged the formation of this type of life. Primitive man was not encumbered with elaborate forms of the marriage-rite. Love at first sight and its immediate consummation, followed perhaps very leisurely by a tribal feast, constituted the wedding ceremony. The marriage tie we may take it, was not always of a very permanent character. This cause, and more especially the want of development of personal property and the lack of attachment to a permanent abode, encouraged the persistence of the matriarchate for very long ages.

Love of personal adornment has always characterised men and more especially women. The Kuravar women, then as now, spent their leisure moments in picking shells and stringing them together for the purpose

of making garlands of them for decorating their persons. Their lovers presented them with trophies of the hunt, like the teeth of the tiger which they shot, and these, worn round the neck, became in much later times the prototype of the *tālī*, the pendant attached to a string or a necklace, which is to-day much prized in South India as the symbol of a wedded woman whose spouse is alive. Another kind of personal adornment was the leaf-garment, a number of leaves tied together with a bit of dried creeper and worn round the waist, a custom which still prevails among the most primitive of the hill tribes of South India.

The desert dweller:

The *Pālai*, the dry sandy desert, can scarcely be considered as one of the habitable regions of the earth's surface. When drawn by the chase of the wild animals, the sturdy hunter would be compelled to make a temporary abode in the *Pālai* region. But the call of the desert finds an echo in the bosoms of those who are born with a love of adventure, and wander-lust is the main motive power that inspires the lives of many men who possess strong sinews and a stout heart. The men who lived in the desert region either for a short time or all their lives were *Maṇavar*, men of *Maṇam*, heroism, and *Kaḷvar*, the strong men, (from *kaḷ*, strength, whence *kaḷiṇu*, the elephant, the strong animal par excellence, also the shark, and *kaḷ*, liquor, the strength-giver, and *kaḷam*, the field of battle). The *Pālai* region being infertile and its men being noted for prowess in arms, the *Maṇavar* and the *Kaḷvar* took in later times to the profession of soldiering and of preying on the rich, but weakly, inhabitants of other regions and *Maṇam* has come to mean cruelty, and *Kaḷvar*, thieves. But in

early times men took to the Fālai regions chiefly on account of their love of adventure. Life in these regions must have accentuated the matriarchal organisation of tribal life, for while the men were roving through the desert, the women and children were thrown into each other's company to enjoy whatever domestic amenities were available.

The herdsman :

When human beings multiplied in the Kuṛiñji regions and the available food supply began to shrink, they migrated to the next region, the Mullai or forest land. By that time they had taken the next great step in the advancement of human culture, the domestication of animals like the buffalo, the cow, the sheep and the goat, the dog, so useful to the hunter, having already been domesticated in the Kuṛavar stage. This led to the second rung in the ladder of human progress, the pastoral culture. Cattle breed fast, especially in the Mullai, and hence arose the institution of private property, the possession of which facilitated the fission of tribes into families.

The primitive form of what may be called natural marriage, the union of lovers at first sight, unimpeded by the observance of marriage rites and formalized merely by the presentation of a tāli of tiger's teeth and a garment of strung leaves for the waist, was called Kaṇavu in early Tamil literature, and was, in the pastoral regions, slowly replaced by Keṇṇu in which the marriage-ritual preceded the consummation of love. The essential portion of this ceremony was the feasting of the men and women of the tribe underneath a pandal, the ordinary tenement of pastoral men, decorated with flowers and

leaves, before the consummation of marriage took place. The institution of the Kappu form of marriage and the development of private property led to the evolution of the patriarchal form of society: for the father of the family, being the possessor of a large, growing herd of cattle, acquired the great influence which the possession of wealth gives. The joint family system now arose, because pasture lands, parcelled out into tiny bits, would become too small to maintain a flock: and the family which resulted from the sub-division of the tribe, could maintain itself against competition, only if its members held together and constituted a growing unit. The patriarchal head of a large family developed into a king. That the institution of kingship in the Tamil country first arose among the pastoral tribes in Mullai land, is registered in the Tamil language by the fact that the word for a king, *kōn*, also means a herdsman, and that for a queen, *āycci*, means a herdsman's wife¹.

Pastoral life outside India, as in the steppes of Central Asia, differed from the life of the men of Mullai, the South Indian herdsmen, in two respects: (1) the use of tents, (2) the constant shifting of the herdsmen tribes from one patch of grass land to another. The invention of tents was needless in South India on account of the equability of the climate all the year round. A few fan-like palmyra leaves thrown on a frame of dried sticks propped up by a few bamboo pillars and topped by a broken pot proved enough to

¹ The word *kōn* seems to be derived from *kōl*, rod, the badge of the herdsman. The royal sceptre was but the rod of the tender of cattle and sheep which became the symbol of authority.

afford shelter to man and beast : and the fertility of the soil and the periodicity of the monsoon ensured the growth of pasture on the same spot year after year. So that it was not necessary as in the Northern steppes to break tent when the grass round a settlement was eaten up by the herd or parched up by the summer sun, and to seek pastures new. The pastoral life of South India hence was not semi-nomad but a settled life capable of developing the amenities of civilisation.

The life of ease made possible by the leisurely tending of cattle in the forest led to the invention of the flute, the *kujal*. The flute was a bit of bamboo with a few holes drilled along its length and from it was produced melodious music which relieved the cowherd from the ennui due to the long hours of waiting while the cattle grazed.

One section of the pastoral people formed the *Kurumbar* who tended the short-legged well-fleeced variety of sheep called the *kurumbādu*. They learned to weave *kambaḷi* from the wool of their sheep and even to-day these *Kurumbar* inhabit the *Mullai* regions of the Madras Presidency and follow their traditional occupation of *kambaḷi*-weaving, though the irrepressible steam-engine has now established itself in *Mullai* tracts and the weaving of wool with the power-loom is depriving the *Kurumbar*, as also other kinds of handicraftsmen, of their age-long means of earning their daily bread.

Fisher-folk :

The next region to be occupied was the *Neydal*, the sea-board. The broad bosom of the sea, heaving and falling as if animated, invited the adventure-loving men with broad chests and finely-chiselled muscles to court

its dangers and venture forth to obtain its inexhaustible wealth of tasty fish. From fishing near the coast, they went on to fish in deeper waters. Hence the environment turned the Paradavar, as the inhabitants of the littoral tracts were called, into boat-builders and fishermen. The first boats were primitive canoes made of two logs bound together to form a float; and the *tēni*, wicker-work basket covered with hide, or coracle, followed next. The chief produce of this region was fish and salt. The Paradavar had to take them into the interior and barter them for other forms of food-stuff. Their environment made the Paradavar into merchants. Placing their wares in double bags on the backs of oxen as their modern-day descendants, the *Balijs* do to day, they trudged along the marshy paths and exchanged their goods for the produce of the riverine plains. From the Paradavar also rose the race of ancient Indian sailors who, later, carried Indian goods in boats to Africa and Arabia in the West and to Malaya and China in the East.

Ploughmen:

The last region to be occupied was the *Marndam*, the low-lying plains between the *Mullai* and the *Neydal*, and that was at the close of the paleolithic period. With the neolithic age began modern civilization. The domestication of plants, especially the rice, the plantain, the sugar-cane and the mango, which probably began in the relatively settled life of the pastoral stage was completed in this.

The arability of the land in this region taught the *Ujavar*, the ploughmen of the *Marndam*, the method of raising cereals after ploughing the ground, and the easy slope of the land in the margin of the rivers taught the

Veḷḷāḷar, the rulers of the flood, the method of conveying the life-giving water to their fields. Beyond the trough of the river-bed lived the Kārāḷar, the rulers of the clouds, those who stored rain-water in tanks and conveyed them to fields through irrigation-channels or lifted the water from wells and springs by water-lifts and irrigated the plots they cultivated. Thus were the arts of agriculture developed to such perfection in early days that modern science can add but little to the traditional wisdom of the South Indian farmer. Beyond the river-valleys lay the land whose soil was made by the mixture of the rain-washed detritus of the trap rock of the Western Ghats and the decaying vegetation of the Daṇḍaka forest. This was the birth-place of the cotton plant and neolithic man learnt to spin the cotton fibre into thread and weave the thread into cotton cloth.

Men now began to build houses of timber wherein to stock their superfluous store of food grain and cotton cloth. The barter of superfluous articles for things which were not easily available in the Marudam region, like the salt and the sea-fish, with the Paradavar, and milk and milk-products, especially ghee, with the Iḍaiyar, and stones and stone tools (and after the discovery of iron, iron-tools) with the Kuṇavar, led to the development of carts for transport by land, and the circle of the evolution of civilisation was complete. The perfection of neolithic culture and the arts and industries of the Marudam region represent the last really great step in human civilisation; for, since neolithic times, no new food-producing plants have been domesticated and no new process of making cloth to cover the body has been invented. The discovery of metals, from iron in ancient times to aluminium in our own times, and the invention

of steam and oil-gas engines and electrically propelled machines, have but rendered, quick and easy, ancient methods of agriculture and manufacture and speeded up transport, but they have not produced either new food-stuffs or new means of shielding the skin from the sun and rain and changes of atmospheric temperature.

Where this evolution first took place :

The five sub-divisions of the habitable regions occur contiguous to each other and in a small fraction of the earth's surface in India south of the Vindhya. It is therefore easy to understand how increase of population and alterations in the natural supply of food-stuffs brought about here at different periods the migration of men from region to region and the consequent development of the different stages of human culture, the hunter, the nomad, the pastoral, the coastal and the agricultural, due to the differing stimuli provided by the changing milieu: in other words, the geographical control of the growth of human civilisation can be worked out and set forth clear as on a map by a study of man's progress in this restricted portion of the surface of the earth. Outside India, these five natural regions occur on a vast scale, e.g., the Mullai, the vast steppe land extending from the Carpathians to the foot hills of the Altai, the Kuriñji or the great mountain chain from the Pyrenees to the Himalayas and beyond, forming a grand girdle round the waist of mother earth, the Neydal, the coasts of the Mediterranean sea, and the Indian and the Atlantic oceans, and the Pālai, the great desert of Sahara and its continuation in Arabia, Persia and Mongolia. Did the the passage from stage to stage of civilization first occur in the restricted region of South India and thence spread

to the vaster tracts beyond or vice-versa? The problem is almost insoluble at present. But it may be pointed out that the migration of population from region to region and the consequent development of higher and higher forms of culture is more likely to have taken place in a restricted portion of the earth's surface where such migration is easy, than in tracts of immense extent. It will help us to understand the ancient history of man if we imagine that nature's laboratory was, and her first experiments in human culture with the geographic forces available to her were conducted in, Dakṣiṇāpatha, India south of the Vindhya, and not in the great physiographic divisions of Eurasia and Africa. It is more likely that these different cultures of ancient times sent out offshoots to appropriate regions outside India so that Nature might reproduce on a larger scale what she had succeeded in achieving on a smaller scale in India, than that she produced these cultures on a magnificent scale outside India and then squeezed minified copies of each stage of civilization into Southern India so as to make it a complete anthropological museum. This is of course but speculation. After all it may turn out that Nature produced similar cultures independently of each other in different places where the same geographical causes operated.

Early Tamil Poetry :

Besides cooking and clothing, another great invention of man is speech. Speech may be either rhythmic or arhythmic. Whether prose preceded poetry in speech as is assumed by most people, or whether, as is more probable, poetry and prose were later differentiations of an original method of speech which was partly rhythmic and partly arhythmic,

it is difficult to determine: but it is certain that in the development of literature, poetry preceded prose by long ages. The words *paṇ* and *pāṇ*, meaning a piece of music, (whence *pāṇu*, to sing, *pāṇu*, a song) belong to the earliest stratum of Tamil, proving that singing was one of the earliest recreations of the Tamils. The *Pāṇar*, originally singers and after the institution of kingship in the pastoral stage of culture, royal bards and panegyrists, followed an ancient and honoured, though ill-rewarded, profession among the Tamils. The ancient *Pāṇars* were the friends and counsellors of kings during the long ages when pure Tamil culture flourished; but when Aryan culture from North India mingled with that of South India during historic times, the persistence of the *Pāṇar* in the over-indulgence in meat-food, especially beef, and the drinking of ardent spirits brought about their social degradation into one of the lowest and most untouchable castes of South India.

Thus grew, without a history, the Tamils of the earliest ages. Their gradual rise in the scale of civilization can be traced from their language and from the discoveries of the students of their prehistoric culture. They first emerge into history, when traces of their trade with Northern India and beyond are noticed in the earliest of the literatures of the world—the *Vedas*—and the earliest historical documents of the world—the inscriptions of the Mesopotamian valley.

CHAPTER II

INTERCOURSE WITH NORTH INDIA IN THE EARLY AGES (CIRCA 3000—2000 B.C.)

The isolation of South India, a false theory :

V. A. Smith says, "Geographical conditions divided Indian History, until the nineteenth century, into three well-marked territorial compartments ... (1) the northern plains forming the basins of the Indus and the Ganges, (2) the Deccan plateau lying to the South of the Narbadā, and to the north of the Krishnā and Tungabhadra rivers, and (3) the far-south, beyond those rivers, comprising the group of Tamil states. Ordinarily, each of these geographical compartments had a distinct, highly complex story of its own. The points of contact between the three histories are not very numerous." Thus does this author justify the fact that in his Oxford History of India he gives "only a secondary place to the story of the Deccan plateau and the far south."¹ To explain this attitude further he says that the South "was shut off by the wide and almost impenetrable barrier of hill and forest, represented by the Narbadā, the Vindhya and the Sātpura ranges. It is worth while to dwell upon the natural separation of the north from the south even in the most remote ages, because the roots of the present go down into the past to a depth far beyond any measurement." He adds that the penetration of the Deccan by Indo-Aryan emissaries "was a peaceful one

¹ Oxf. Hist. of India, pp. i-iii.

and "the chief line of communication was always along the eastern coast."² D. R. Bhandarkar has challenged the correctness of the line of communication suggested by V. A. Smith. He has quoted a story from the *Suttanipāṭa*, which describes the itinerary of the pupils of a Brāhmana teacher called Bāvari. Bāvari was "settled near a village on the Godhāvari in the Assaka (Āsmaka) country" in the *Dakṣiṇāpāṭha*. He "sent his sixteen pupils to pay their homage to Buddha" and they travelled north to *Paṭiṭṭhāna* of the *Muṣka* country (now *Paṭṭhaṇ* in the Nizam's Dominions), then *Māhissatī* (*Māhismatī*, identified with *Māndhātā* on the *Narmadā* on the borders of the Indore State), *Ujjenī*, and *Śāketa* and beyond³. From this D. R. Bhandarkar rightly infers that from *Māhismatī* the pupils must have crossed to the other side of the *Vindhyas* through the *Vidarbha* country. He concludes that the route taken by the Aryans when they went south "seems to have lain through the *Avantī* country, the southernmost town of which was *Māhissatī* or *Māndhātā* on the *Narmadā*, from where the Aryans crossed the *Vindhyas* and penetrated South India"⁴. D. R. Bhandarkar mentions also another route "by which the Aryans seem to have gone to South India" and that was by the sea. "They appear to have sailed from the *Indus* to *Kaśheha*, and from there by sea-coast to *Surāṣṭra* or *Kāṭhīāwār*, from *Kāṭhīāwār* to *Bharukachha* or modern *Broach*, from *Bharukachha* to *Sappāraka* or *Sopārā* in the *Thāṇa* district of the *Bombay Presidency*."⁵

² *Ib.* p. 14.

³ *Carm. Lec.* 1918, pp. 4-5.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 22.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 23.

* Thus the theory that the Vindhyas and the Dandakāranya forest formed an insurmountable barrier between North and South India, is not true. And, if we consider certain facts attested to by the Vedic mantras, we have to conclude that there must have been extensive commercial intercourse between Āryāvarta and Dakṣiṇāpatha from the beginning of the Vedic Age, and Smith's theory of the isolation of India South of the Vindhyas is baseless.

South India in the Vedas :

The earliest reference to Southern India in Sanskrit literature is supposed to occur in the very obscure verse, Rg Veda x. 61.8, which says, *saratpadā na dakṣiṇā parāvṛṇa na tā nu me prānyo jagrbhre*. Sayana interprets the word *dakṣiṇā* here as a fee paid in cattle, following a legend narrated in the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*. But European scholars translate it as South, and Macdonell and Keith remark that *dakṣiṇā padā*, 'with Southward foot' refers "to the place where the exile (*parāvṛj*) goes on being expelled."^a

That the interpretation of the passage by Macdonell and Keith is correct and that Dakṣiṇāpatha was regarded as a place of exile during the early Vedic Age when the Ārya cult had not penetrated beyond the Vindhyas is proved by the story of Viśvāmitra and his sons. The story is narrated in the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, but this does not mean that the events narrated in the story were contemporaneous with that *Brāhmaṇa*. It is an ancient story relating to the age of the first Viśvāmitra, the Rṣi of the Gāyatrī mantra, who lived

^a Vedic Index, Vol. i. p. 337.

about 3500 B.C. This Viśvāmitra, when he rescued his grand-nephew Śunaḥśeṣa from being immolated as a victim in a human sacrifice performed at the instance of Rohita, son of Hariścandra, adopted the released victim as his son and gave him the name of Devarāta. Fifty of Viśvāmitra's natural sons protested against Śunaḥśeṣa's elevation to the place of the eldest son of the family and Viśvāmitra, never noted for much self-restraint, cursed them, saying *antān vaḥ prajā bhakṣiṣṭa*. This is rendered by Keith, 'Your offspring shall inherit the ends of the earth,' but Sayana interprets '*antān bhakṣiṣṭa*' as '*candālādī rūpam nīcājāti viśeṣam bhajatām*, 'they shall become *Anāryas* (*Dasyus*).' Sayana's is much the better interpretation, for the Br̥hmaṇa adds '*ta etadhrāḥ puṇḍrāḥ sabarāḥ pulindā mātībā ityudantyā bahavo viśvāmītrā dasyūnām bhūyiṣṭhāḥ*, 'these are the (people) Andhras, Puṇḍras, Sabaras, Pulindas, and Mātības, who live in large numbers beyond the borders; most of the *Dasyus* are the descendants of Viśvāmitra'.[†]

The outcaste went South because the Vindhya were the Southern boundary of the holy land (*puṇyabhūmih*) of Āryāvartta and he who was bereft of the benefit of the Ārya rites had necessarily to go south. Long after the period when the composition of the Vedic Mantras ceased, the Vindhya were still held to shut in the Aryan world, for the Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad says that both the mountains—the Southern and the Northern, (i.e., the Himalayas and the Vindhya) by rolling themselves desiring to lay him low cannot destroy one who knows the relations between *Prāṇa* (cosmic and indivi-

[†] Ait. Br̥h. vii. 18.

dual) and the manifested powers". In the *Mann Smṛti* the tradition is repeated that the tract between these two mountains where the black antelope naturally roams, the wise call *Āryāvartta* (i.e., it is an ancient tradition), and the tract different from it is the country of the *mlecchas*; twice-born men ought to live only there⁸. Thus even in the age when the *Manu Smṛti*, as we now have it, was compiled (and that must have been a time when *Brāhmanas* had spread over the whole of India), the tradition about the limits of *Āryāvartta* within whose boundaries alone *Brāhmanas* could reside, was being repeated as authoritative on account of the antiquity of the idea.

Pearls :

Notwithstanding the fact that, for religious purposes, the *Rsis* confined the *Āryas* to *Āryāvartta*, there must have been, from the earliest times, much commercial intercourse between *Āryāvartta* and *Dakṣiṇāpāṭha*⁹, as they

⁸ *Kausītaki Upaniṣad*, II. 12, 13.

⁹ *Tayor evāntaro giriyōr āryāvarttam vidur budhāḥ kṛṣṇā sūnastu carati mṛigo yatra svabhāvataḥ.....etān dvijātayo deśān. Manu, II. 22, 24.*

¹⁰ *Dakṣiṇāpāṭha* was contracted into *daksina*, the south. This word, in *Prakrit* *dakkhiṇa*, later became *dakkhin*, which was the name of India south of the *Vindhyas*. The English people, perhaps following the lead of Mussulman historians, have turned it into the *Deccan* and changed its meaning. They have excluded the southernmost portion of South India, the country South of the *Kṛṣṇā* which the *Rsis* generally thought of when they talked of South India, from the connotation of the word *Deccan*, and restricted it to the plateau and

called South India, for one of the articles much used for decoration in the Vedic Age was the product of the extremest south, viz.: the pearl. Here are a few extracts from some of the mantras, which refer to the wide use of pearls in the Vedic Age. 'The car (of Savitā) was decked with pearl of various colours' ¹¹. The decoration of divine cars was an imitation of that of royal chariots which were decorated with pearls. The horses that dragged them were also decked with pearls: *kṛṣanebhiraśvan* ¹². The steeds were *kṛṣana-vataḥ* ¹³, *kṛṣaninaḥ* ¹⁴. The use of the pearl and the mother of pearl was so great that the small supply of inferior pearls from the Ganges could scarcely have met the demand and hence pearls must have been carried from South India to the North. One whole *sūkta* of the Atharva Veda Samhita called the *Śaṅkhamāṇī sūkta*, recited when wearing an amulet of mother of pearl, thus eulogises the pearl. 'Born out of the atmosphere, out from the light of the lightning, let this golden shell, of pearl, protect us' ¹⁵. 'Thou art conspicuous on the chariot, lustrous on the

invented the phrase 'far south' to represent the Southernmost part of the peninsula.

¹¹ *Abbīrṣtam kṛṣanair viśvarūṣam.. ratham*, R. V. i. 33, 4.

¹² R. V. x. 68. 11.

¹³ R. V. i. 126. 4.

¹⁴ R. V. vii. 18. 23.

¹⁵ *Vātājjāto antariksād vīdyuto jyotiṣaspari sa no hīrenyayā śaṅkhaḥ kṛṣaṇaḥ pātvambasaḥ*. A. V. iv. 10. 1.

quiver, thou ¹⁶. 'When the ocean roared against Parjanya with lightning, therefrom was born the golden drop ¹⁷'. Whitney has pointed out that the last of the mantras quoted as well as the first of the Śaṅkhamapi sākta allude to the belief that pearls originated by the transformation of rain drops falling into the sea. This is a bit of folk-biology which originated in the extreme south of India where the pearl oysters have been gathered from the bed of the sea from time immemorial. We can easily understand that there must have been considerable intercourse between North India and South India to enable pearls to have been carried in the large quantities needed for decorating not only the persons of men and women, but their cars, horses, quivers and other articles, and for folk-lore to accompany that article to the land of the Rsis.

The derivation of the word Kṛṣṇa is worth considering. It is apparently derived from kṛṣ, 'to become lean and emaciated'; possibly the name was given to it because if exposed to the atmosphere for a very long period of time, pearl gradually wastes away, unlike other gems. If this is correct etymology, kṛṣṇa is a very poetical name for the pearl and must have been given to it after a long experience of its use. Another Sanskrit name for it is muktā. This word occurs in the form vimuktā once in the Vedic literature.¹⁷ Vimuktā is explained as 'secreted' (in the

¹⁶ Rathe tvamasi darsata iṣudhau ,rocanas tvam, Ib. 6.

¹⁷ Yat samudro abhyakrandat parjanya vidyutā sah tato hiraṇyayo bindustato garbho ajāyata, Ib. xix 30, 5. Śaḍvimsa Brāhmaṇa v. 6.

oyster) by Macdonell and Keith ¹⁹ and muktā, as 'released' from the oyster, by Monier Williams in his Sanskrit Dictionary, but I am sure that muktā is but the Tamil word muttam, pearl, borrowed and Sanskritised.

It is interesting to compare the Vedic references to the pearl by people who had but seen the pearl as a means of decoration and who had heard vague tales of rain drops turning into pearls in the interior of the oyster, with the following image from a poem composed by a poet familiar with the pearl in its native state within the oyster. He describes 'gems emitting rays while lying on bright, long layers of sand which were like the pearls in a mature long shell' ²⁰.

Gold and Diamonds:

Besides pearls, other South Indian articles were in demand in Āryāvarta. They were gold and diamonds, besides other things. Much gold was used in the Vedic times both for making ornaments and for coining. In the Vedic Index by Macdonell and Keith it is said, "It is hardly possible to exaggerate the value attached to gold by the the Vedic Indians Golden treasures (hiranyāni) are mentioned as given by patrons...Gold was used for ornaments for neck and breast (niṣka), for ear-rings (karṇasobhana) and even for cups...A gold currency was evidently beginning to be known in so

Vedic Index, II p. 304.

¹⁹ முத்தரை கிடமி முத்த வயங்கைத்

சுருங்கிடு மணி, Puṇam, 53, II. 1—2.

Puṇam 377 speaks of கடல் வயங்கை சுருங்கி முத்தம் (l. 17), 'the many-rayed pearl born from the sea.' and the Perumbāṇṇruppaḍai has முத்தரை மணி (l. 335), 'sand spread like pearls.'

far as definite weights of gold are mentioned; thus a weight, *aṣṭāprēḍi*, occurs in the *Samhitās* and the golden *śatamāna*, weight of a hundred *kṛṣṇālas* is found in the same texts.²⁰ D. R. Bhandarkar has conclusively proved that there were two types of metallic currency, stamped and unstamped, called respectively *hiranya pāṇḍa* and *niska* in the age of the *Ṛsis*²¹. Hence the gold dust which the North Indians got from the washing of the sands of the Indus²² could not have sufficed for their purposes. This gold was called *pīṇḍika*, ant-like, from the size of the gold particles²³. North Indians therefore had to import it

²⁰ *Vedic Index*, II, 504-5, where the Vedic references are all given.

²¹ *Carm.*, Lec 193¹, pp. 56-75.

²² Washing for gold is recorded in *Tait. Samh.* vi.1.7.1, *S'ak. Brāh.* ii.1.1.5. The Indus is called 'golden' and 'of golden stream.' *R.V.* x. 75.8, vi. 61.7, viii. 26.18. (*Ved. Ind.* op. cit.)

²³ *Mahābhārata* ii. 1860, says that gold raised from underneath the earth by ants, and therefore called after these creatures, was brought as tribute to Yudhiṣṭhira. The Greek writer, Megasthenes, turned this mild myth into the story that "on the eastern borders there is an elevated plateau about 3,000 stadia in circuit. Beneath the surface there are mines of gold, and accordingly are found the ants which dig for that metal. They are not inferior in size to wild foxes. They run with amazing speed, and live by the produce of the chase. The time when they dig is winter. They throw heaps of earth, as moles do, at the mouths of the mines. The gold dust has to be subjected to a little boiling. The people of

also from gold mines. So far the chief ancient gold diggings known are those of South India. Hence it is probable that South Indian gold was used in Āryāvarta.

We have the authority of Kauṭilya's Artha Śāstra for the fact that in the IV century B.C. there flourished a trade between South India and North India in shells of all kinds including mother of pearl, diamonds and other precious stones, pearls and gold, which were available in plenty in Dakṣiṇāpatha²⁴. We can easily believe that this was no special mercantile development of the Maurya epoch, but a continuation of the trade of the Vedic times, for the men of the earlier epoch could not have got the articles from any other quarter of the globe.

Other articles :

Of the unguents and drugs so frequently referred to in the Atharva Veda, those with South Indian names must have also gone from Dakṣiṇāpatha. Besides these, one plant, *lākeā*²⁵ and one bird, *mayūra*²⁶ have names which, I suspect, are derived from Tamil. But even without these etymological speculations there is ample evidence that there was considerable commercial intercourse between the Āryas of North India and the neighbourhood, coming secretly with beasts of burden, carry this off". McCrindle, *Anc. Ind.* p. 95.

The boiling spoken of by Megasthenes perhaps refers to the extraction of gold by heating the *sālagrāma*, still being done in Tibet.

²⁴ Artha Śāstra vii. 12.

²⁵ A.V. v. 5-7.

²⁶ R.V. i. 191. 14

Dasyus of South India in the age of the Rsis. The elephant is frequently mentioned in the Vedas, as the beast with the hand. They were probably got from the Vindhyan regions or from the regions further south²¹. There is no mention, so far as I know, of ivory carving in the Vedas. But carving is mentioned among decorations, e.g. 'Like two slight images of girls, unrobed, upon a new-wrought pillar.'²² These images might have been of wood or gold or ivory. If the northerners did not practise ivory carving, it is impossible to guess what they made of the plentiful supply of ivory from the many elephants which were kept by kings. Ivory carving existed in the early stone age, many thousands of years before the Vedic times and could not have died out with the advance of civilization. In later times 'ivory worked into divers forms and shapes' is mentioned as the occupation of people in Benares, in the Silavanāga Jātaka, No. 72. This was certainly no new industry in the V or VI century B.C., when the story must have been current, before being absorbed in the Jātaka tales. Ivory then, was probably another article of export from the South to the North of India.

Panis:

In several places I have argued that the Panis mentioned in the Vedic hymns were the traders who

²¹ In the II century B.C. elephants were sent from the Pāṇḍya country to Khāravela of Kalinga, and this was but a continuation of the trade in this animal, of more ancient times.

²² R V. iv. 32. 23.

supplied these articles to the Āryas.²⁹ In this I find I was mistaken, having been misled by European scholars, such as Griffith, Maedonell, etc. On a careful re-perusal of the mantras where the word Pani occurs, I find that they were neither traders nor atmospheric demons who stole the clouds and prevented rainfall as they have been explained to be, but that they were one of the several clans of Dasyus who were opposed to the Āryas. They were neither traders nor demons, but agriculturists who hoarded wealth³⁰ consisting in horse and cattle. Their wealth of kine was kept in caves³¹. This has been misinterpreted as fends secreting rays of light. This misinterpretation is due to the ignorance of a well-known custom of ancient India, both Aryan and Dravidian. We learn from the *Tolkāppiyam*, a work that contains references to very old Indian customs, that lifting the enemy's cattle was the ancient method of beginning hostilities and this was called *vaṭci*, and *vaṭci* in war poems had the hill-country as its terrain.

The Panis were a tribe rich in cattle which they kept in caves; and they were the enemies of certain Āryas and these two began war with each other by the time-honoured method of lifting cattle. In one such war not a war of invasion as European scholars would have it, Agni and Soma, i.e. worshippers, who relied

²⁹ *Life in Ancient India*, pp. 16, *Indian Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. I, p. 695, *Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture*, p. 80.

³⁰ R. V. i. 83. 4, i. 32. 11, ii. 24. 9

³¹ R. V. ii. 24. 6, iv. 58. 4.

on these Gods for help, stole the kine from the Panis.³² Indra, or acting on his behalf, Brhaspati, stole the kine of the Panis³³. Thus the Panis seem to have been a tribe of Dasyus, who were rich in cattle, and not traders at all. South Indian trade in Vedic times was in the hands of merchants who lived on the sea-coast and were called Paradar from very early times.³⁴

The Aryas in Cera:

There is a verse in R. V. VII. 101. 14 which says, *prajā ha tisro atyāyam iyuḥ*, 'three people transgressed.' Commenting on this the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka says, 'yā vaitā imāḥ prajāḥ tisro atyāyam āyan tāni imāni vayāmsi vaṅgāvagadhās cerapādūḥ'³⁵, 'the three peoples who transgressed are the Vāyusas, Vaṅgāvagadhas and Cerapādas'. Sayana renders the last three words as birds, trees, plants and snakes. Ānandavīrtha as Piśacas, Rākṣasas and Asuras. Keith regards Vāyusas as people with bird-totems (as Matsyas, Ājās, etc. had other animal totems) the Vaṅgāvagadhas as possibly Vāṅgas and Magadhas, and Cerapādas as Ceras. Their transgression was the neglect of worshipping fire, as the context shows. I think that Keith's explanation is the right one. The Aryan culture reached the Cera country in early times in the wake of the migrations of Paraśurāma, as I shall show later on.

³² R. V. i. 93.4

³³ R. V. x. 67.6

³⁴ Perumbūnāṟruppeḍai (1.323) has *maṇḍai maṇḍai*, 'mansions full of merchants.'

³⁵ Ait. Āraṇ. ii. 1.1 (Anecdota Oxoniensa, Keith)

Arya Kings South of the Vindhyas :

Now I shall discuss the extension of the power of Arya kings early in the Vedic Age into India south of the Vindhyas. From the Puranas we learn that Arjuna Kārtavīrya was a contemporary of Trayyārūna, grandfather of Hariścandra. He lived about thirty generations after the foundation of the Solar line and about thirty generations before Rāmacandra i. e. at the end of the first third part of the Vedic epoch ; Arjuna was a great conqueror, and was called both a Samrāj and a Cakravartī. He raised the Haihaya power to pre-eminence during a long reign. In addition to bringing the whole of North India under his sway, he captured Māhiṣmatī²⁶ from the Kārkoṭaka Nāgas, a great Dasyu tribe of the Dakṣiṇāpatha, and made it his fortress capital. Among others he defeated a Rāvaṇa, king of Laṅka, and imprisoned him in Māhiṣmatī²⁷. This Rāvaṇa was certainly not the enemy of Rāmacandra who lived at least five hundred years later. Hence the Rāvaṇa who was imprisoned by Kārtavīrya must have been an earlier Rāja of that name or perhaps the guess of Dr. Sten Konow is true, that the name, Rāvaṇa, was but the result of the Sanskritization of Tamil *īraiyan*²⁸ and merely meant a Tamil king.

²⁶ The town of Māhiṣmatī was built long before this age by Mahiṣmān who lived about a hundred years before Viśvāmitra. It was probably taken by the Nāgas and Arjuna captured it from them.

²⁷ Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 265-266. The Puranic references are given fully in Pargiter's footnotes.

²⁸ J. R. A. S. 1914, p. 285. There was a still earlier Rāvaṇa who fought with Anarāyaṇa, king of Ayodhyā. Vide Pargiter, *op. cit.* p. 263.

This Arjuna or his sons raided the hermitage of Jamadagni, the Bhārgava Ṛṣi, ill-treated him and carried off his calf; Jamadagni's son, the redoubted Rāma, declared war against them and slew many of them and the Haihayas. Rāma and the Bhārgavas were supported by the princes of Ayodhyā and Kānyakubja, who were allied to them by marriage³⁹. Rāma Jāmadagnya, later called Paraśurāma, to distinguish him from Rāma Dāśarathī, killed Arjuna and many Haihayas. After his military exploits Rāma retired to the West Coast where the sea retired a few miles to provide him with a bit of territory;⁴⁰ possibly the advent of Rāma to the Konkan and the Malabar coast took place at a time when the Western sea retreated a few miles, exposing the narrow strip of land between itself and the Western Ghats; and hence arose the persistent association of Paraśurāma's name with the recovery of Konkan and Malabar in numerous legends. Paraśurāma was probably the first Ṛṣi that carried the Vedic fire-cult to the South of India.

Contemporary with Paraśurāma was Viśvāmitra of Kānyakubja. The story of his banishing fifty of his sons to the regions beyond the Vindhya has already been referred to. The Vaiśvāmitras spread the Ārya cult in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. D. R. Bhandarkar makes a curious statement about the banished sons of Viśvāmitra. He says that they "married and mixed freely with the aborigines, with the object of diffusion of Aryan culture amongst them"⁴¹. That the Vaiśvāmitras married Dasyu wives is probably true, because they were unmarried

³⁹ Pargiter, *op. cit.* p. 267.

⁴⁰ *Ib. op. cit.* pp. 190-200.

⁴¹ *Carmichael Lectures, 1928, p. 21.*

when they were cursed by their irate parent, but that they did so for the purpose of civilizing the Dasyus is an absolutely unwarranted inference. Nor were the Dasyus uncivilized aborigines. Many scholars, on account of their ignorance of the great civilization reached by the Indians in the pre-Aryan epoch, evidence of which is found in the artefacts of the neolithic period and in early Tamil vocabulary and echoes of which are found in later Tamil literature⁴², and on account of their disregarding the Vedic references to Dasyu culture, have invented the legend of the savage Dasyu. The traditional holiness of Āryāvartta and the exaggerated tales of Rākṣasa cruelty which abound in the ancient legends have helped to confirm this wrong view. When the R̥sis speak of the Dasyus, we should remember that they speak of their enemies and hence we should make allowance for exaggeration due to animosity. We should also not forget that both in the Vedic mantras and in the Epic and Puranic legends, side by side with denunciations of the savagery of the Dasyus and Rākṣasas, there are innumerable passages referring to their high civilization, their castles, their gold ornaments, their wealth, etc. Hence they were not barbarous aborigines waiting to be civilized by Aryan exiles or stray Aryan immigrants.

The holiness of Āryāvartta has also misled investigators into the wrong notion that the Dakṣiṇa country was rigidly isolated from the North and that the early Aryan Rājas confined their ambition to the land north of the Vindhya throughout the long ages when

⁴² Vide my *Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture*

the R̥sis of the Vedic mantras flourished, i.e., from the time of Ikṣvāku to that of the Mahābhārata war (from 3000 B. C. to 1400 B. C. according to my scheme of ancient Indian chronology). Says D. R. Bhandarkar, "It was in the Brāhmaṇa period, however, that they (i. e. the Āryas) for the first time seem to have crossed the Vindhya range which separates the South from the North half of India. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, e.g., a prince named Bhīma is designated Vaidarbha, prince of Vidarbha. This shows that the Aryans had come down below the Vindhya and settled in Vidarbha or Western Berars immediately to the south of this mountain range" **. This is a specimen of the wrong application of the critical method of historical investigation.

Because the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa mentions the name Bhīma Vaidarbha and the R̥g Veda mantras do not, the Aryan R̥jas had just then crossed the Vindhya. Bhīma might have lived one thousand years before the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa was composed, but yet he had just crossed the Vindhya when it mentions him. The Brāhmaṇas record traditions which had been floating down the river of time during the ninety to hundred royal generations that elapsed from the age when Ikṣvāku and Purūrasas founded the Solar and Lunar dynasties respectively and the mention of a person in those books does not mean that he was a contemporary of the authors of those books. As a matter of fact Bhīma or Bhīmaratha of Vidarbha was contemporary of Ayutāyus of Ayodhyā who was older than R̥ama by about fifteen generations and Bṛhadbala of the age of the Mahābhārata by more than forty generations. The bulk of the Aitareya

**. Carm. Lect. 1918. p. 2

and other early Brāhmaṇas was composed sometime after Veda Vyāsa who belonged to the Mahābhārata epoch had closed the Vedic canon by compiling the Samhitās. Thus Bhīma lived more than a thousand years before the age of the Brāhmaṇas and the Vindhyas had been crossed and Vidarbha founded about ten generations before Bhīma. Jyāmagha, a Yādava prince was expelled by his elder brother and sought his fortune southward in the hilly upper region of the Narmadā inhabited by Nāgas and other Dasyus. He led a predatory life there. He or his son Vidarbha moved south and carved a kingdom on the Tapti and the country and its capital were called after him Vidarbha⁴⁵. Long after him reigned Bhīmaratha.

Not only Vidarbha but other Aryan states had been established in early times in the Vindhya regions. Dakṣiṇa Kosala, Cedi, Daśārṇa, Niśadha, besides Vidarbha, all at the foot of the Vindhyas, were Aryan settlements in the middle of the Vedic period. Kaśu, Rāja of Cedi, is mentioned in the Rg Veda⁴⁶; there is an interesting description of the kings of Cedi, Daśārṇa, Vidarbha, Southern Kosala etc., in the Naḷopākhyāna of the Mahābhārata, and the Caidya kings are mentioned in the Puranas. Indrasēna, the wife of Mudgala, drove her husband's chariot in a fight with the Dasyus⁴⁷. It is no wonder she did so, for she was the daughter of Nala, famous for his skill in driving chariots⁴⁸. Rtuṣarṇa, Nala's friend, was king of Dakṣiṇa Kosala. Vidarbha was a contiguous province. Hence

⁴⁵ Pargiter, op. cit. p. 269.

⁴⁶ R.V. viii, 5.37.

⁴⁷ R.V. x. 102.2.

⁴⁸ MbB. III. 114.24.

a portion of the Dakṣiṇāpatha was acquired by Aryan Rājās⁴⁹, long before Rāma's time. All the while the people of Tamil India were pursuing their lives, each in their own region, as described in the last chapter; they traded with the peoples of the North, but their culture, called Dasya by the Northerners, was not influenced by the fire-cult of Aryāvarta, though this culture slowly crept in this period across the Vindhyas.

⁴⁹ Vide Sitānath Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*, Chapters I, XII and XVII.



CHAPTER III

FOREIGN TRADE IN EARLY TIMES.

South India and Sumeria :

It was pointed out in Chapter I that trade began as a matter of necessity in the Neydal or coast region. A large part of the Tamil country is near the sea and the inhabitants of the coastal districts have been called from early times **Paradavar** or sailors. The **Paradavar** of the coasts of **South India** must have early discovered the periodicity of the monsoons; indeed it is impossible to live in the **Malabar** country for a year without understanding this phenomenon and the possibilities of sea-travel it implies. Even when advantage was not taken of the monsoons, sailors could go along hugging the shore up to the coasts of **Afghanistan** and **Persia**. Extensive travels by land and sea in very early times can alone have made possible the colonization of the **Mesopotamian** valley by the **Tamils**, which, according to a recent theory, gave birth to the ancient **Sumerian** civilization of that region. Says **H. R. Hall**, "the ethnic type of the **Sumerians**, so strongly marked in their statues and reliefs was as different from those of the races which surrounded them as was their language from those of the **Semites**, **Aryans** or others; they were decidedly **Indian** in type. The face-type of the average **Indian** of to-day is no doubt much the same as that of his **Dravidian** race-ancestors thousands of years ago. Among the modern **Indians** as amongst the

modern Greeks or Italians the ancient pre-Aryan type of the head has survived (as the primitive type of the head has always done), while that of the Aryan conqueror died out long ago. And it is to this Dravidian ethnic type of India that the ancient Sumerian bears most resemblance, so far as we can judge from his monuments. He was very like a Southern Hindu of the Dekkan (who still speaks Dravidian languages). And it is by no means improbable that the Sumerians were an Indian tribe which passed, certainly by land, perhaps also by sea, through Persia to the valley of the Two Rivers. [In his footnotes to the words 'land' and 'sea' in this sentence, he says, 'we have at the present day a Dravidian population in Baluchistan, the Brahuis; the Dravidian type has been noted in Southern Persia; and there can be little doubt that the non-Aryan peoples of Ancient Persia (the Anariakoi of the Greeks) were of the same race, forming a connecting link between Babylonia and India.' 'The legend of Canes, the man-fish quoted by Berossus, argues an early maritime connection with a civilized land over sea. Canes swam up the Persian gulf to the earliest Sumerian cities (Eridu and the rest), bringing with him the arts of civilization.'] It was in the Indian home (perhaps the Indus valley) that we suppose that their culture was developed. There their writing may have been invented, and progressed from a purely pictorial to a simplified and abbreviated form, which afterwards in Babylonia took on its peculiar 'cuneiform' (wedge-shaped) appearance owing to its being written with a square-ended stylus on soft clay. On the way they left the seeds of their culture in Elam. This seems a plausible theory of Sumerian origins and it must be clearly understood

that it is offered by the present writer merely as a theory, which has no direct evidence to back it, but seems possible."¹

Moheñjo-Daro :

Within twelve years of the publication of Hall's book, the "direct evidence to back" his theory was furnished by the excavations of Harappa and Moheñjo Daro and what was "possible" in his view has become probable. Specimens of the writing he spoke of have been found and ample relics of the advanced civilization of the Indus valley have been recovered. The "trenches revealed the presence of successive layers of buildings of the chalcolithic" period. Certain figures have been found in Moheñjo Daro of crude workmanship and archaic appearance; but "the very prominent nose and the use of flattened pellets of clay for the eyes is a feature of very similar figures of early date from Mesopotamia."² Notwithstanding these and many other discoveries, the definite proof of Sumerian culture being an outflow of the ancient culture of the Indus valley can be obtained only when the writings discovered at Moheñjo Daro have been finally read and deciphered.

Ancient Trade with Babylonia :

If there was intercourse between the Indus valley and Sumeria, there must have been greater intercourse between these two districts and South India. Evidence of this is found in two facts mentioned by Sayce. One is that Indian teak was found in the ruins of Ur (Mugheir), which was the capital of the Sumerian kings

¹ H. R. Hall. The Ancient History of the Near East, pp. 173-4.

² Archaeological Survey of India. Annual report, 1925-26, pp. 72-78.

in the IV millennium B.C. and the other is that the word *sindhu* or *muslin* is mentioned in an ancient Babylonian list of clothing.² The occurrence of *s* in the word proves that this *muslin* did not go to Mesopotamia via Persia, for then '*s*' would have become '*h*' in Persian months, as the name of this country, derived from the name of the river *Sind*, became *Hind*. I therefore conclude that *muslin* went direct by sea from the Tamil Coast to the Persian Coast and the Babylonian word *sindu* for *muslin* is not derived from the name of the river (as has been supposed) but from the old Dravidian word, '*sindi*', which is still found in Tulu and Canarese, and means 'a piece of cloth' and is represented by the Tamil word '*sindu*', a flag.

Ancient trade with Egypt:

Not only was there commercial intercourse between the Tamil country and the Mesopotamian valley, but there is some evidence that the trade of South India extended to Egypt in the III millennium B.C. Says W. H. Schoff, "thousands of years before the emergence of the Greeks from savagery. . . Egypt and the nations of Ancient India came into being, and a commercial system was developed for the interchange of products within those limits, having its centre of exchange near the head of the Persian gulf. The peoples of that region, the various Arab tribes and more especially those ancestors of the Phœnicians, the mysterious Red Men, were the active carriers or intermediaries. The growth of civilization in India created an active merchant marine, trading to the Euphrates and Africa, and eastwards we know not whither. The

² Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, pp. 136-138.

Arab merchants, apparently, tolerated the presence of Indian traders in Africa but reserved for themselves the commerce within the Red Sea, that lucrative commerce which supplied precious stones and spices and incense to the ever increasing service of the gods of Egypt. This was their prerogative, jealously guarded, and upon this they lived and prospered according to the prosperity of the Pharaohs. The muslins and spices of India they fetched themselves or received from the Indian traders in their ports on either side of the gulf of Aden; carrying them in turn over the highlands to the upper Nile, or through the Red Sea and across the desert to Thebes or Memphis."⁴ It may be added that the articles taken to Egypt by the Arab intermediaries were South Indian ones and that South Indian Paradavar took them in their boats to Aden and the East African coast.

"In the inscriptions of Harkhuf, an Assuan noble under [the Egyptian] king Mernere of the VI Dynasty (B. C. 2,600) occurs the following:—'I descended (from country of Yam, Southern Nubia) with 300 asses laden with incense, ebony, grain, panthers, ivory, throw-sticks and every good product.' The ebony referred to may be African ebony; but it may also have been Indian ebony, which was superior to the African one and was in ancient times taken from India to the Persian gulf, whence the Arabians took it to the coast of Africa, and from there it was taken via the Upper Nile to Egypt, as it was in later times, i.e. 1,500 B. C.; and after this date Indian ebony was so popular that Theophrastus (IV century B.C.) ascribes the wood to India only and Virgil (*Georgics* ii, 116,7) speaks of it as peculiar to

⁴ *Periplus*, p. 3.

India.² In a later chapter it will be shown that grain and panthers were exported to Africa in later times. These two articles here mentioned may also have gone from South India.

In the VI dynasty, under Pepi II (XXVI century B. C.) a royal officer, Sebni sent to the Tigre highlands, records how he descended to Wawat and Uthek, and sent on the royal attendant Iri, with two others, bearing incense, clothing (probably cotton), one tusk and one hide."³ Now the Deccan was the only part of the world where cotton cloth was woven in those far off days.

The ivory mentioned above was African but may also have been Indian. From early times Indian ivory was in demand, partly because it was finer than any other. Moreover it was easier to kill elephants in Indian forests than in the wilder, thicker, and more unhealthy African forests. The elephant-hunters of Abyssinia and Somaliland who supplied African ivory to the Egyptian Kings used adzes, axes and swords; and India was the only country whence iron implements could have been imported in those times. In exchange for these, India imported from Africa incense and sweet-smelling gums, largely used in this country in the Vedic Age. There is record of the export of iron from India in the next age and we may well believe that this commerce existed in the earlier age.

The Vedic mantras refer to men who went to far off lands for "interchange of merchandise."⁴ Traders

² Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 61, 153, Warmington. *Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, p. 213.

³ Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 121.

⁴ A. V. iii. 15.4.

"desiring wealth sent ships to sea;"⁸ parties of merchants went on the ocean in ships with a hundred oars" to distant lands for sale and barter⁹. This of course does not refer to Tamil trade but if the Northern Ārya people traded to distant countries, the South Indian sailors must have been their teachers of the art of sailing: for the latter had developed from early times extensive sea-trade and the former were not sailors in early days.

Kennedy on Ancient trade:

Some writers, however, have argued against the existence of this trade. The chief of them is Kennedy. In his article on this subject¹¹ he has spent all the resources of his vast learning in trying to disprove that there was any Indian trade either with Egypt or Assyria before the VII century B. C. He ignores completely the passages of the R̥g Veda and Atharva Veda mantras referring to merchants, sea-voyages and shipwrecks. He admits that the Indian people, especially of the coastal districts "were accustomed to the sea." He cannot deny that India produced in abundance hard timber necessary for building purposes and sweet-smelling woods useful for the preparation of the unguents so widely employed in ancient times for ritual purposes. It is well-known that the Egyptians and Assyrians eagerly sought after the spices, pearls and other gems which India could supply in plenty. Indians from the neolithic age wove cotton cloth in abundance and dyed it, as is proved from the various kinds of stone tools for

⁸ R. V. i. 48.3.

⁹ A. V. i. 56.2.

¹⁰ A. V. iii. 15.4.

¹¹ R. V. i. 116.5.

¹² J. R. A. S. 1898, pp. 248-297

weaving, including slick-stones for polishing cloth, discovered so far. Yet Kennedy shuts his eyes to all the available evidence of ancient commercial intercourse between India on the one hand and Egypt and Assyria on the other. He attempts to discount the value of the evidence of the names of articles of trade borrowed from Sanskrit and Tamil by the Accadian, Hebrew and Arabic languages. He tries to whittle down the Vedic evidence of the contact of Aryas with Assyria adduced by German scholars, magnifies the difficulties in the way of an extensive development of commerce by barter and concludes that "there is no valid proof of it."

Schoff's refutation:

Schoff, the American editor of the *Periplus*, thus conclusively refutes Kennedy's arguments. "Kennedy minimizes the importance of the early Egyptian trading voyages, considering them purely local, while the numerous references to articles and routes of early trade in the Hebrew scriptures he passes by with the assertion that they are due to the revision following the return of Ezra. But whatever may have been Ezra's revision of the Hebrew books, substantially the same articles of trade are described in the records of Egypt at corresponding dates, and they indicate a trade in articles of Indian origin to the Somali coast and overland to the Nile, centuries before Ezra's day. Such opinions presume a continuous trading journey without exchange of cargoes at common meeting-points. But primitive trade passed from tribe to tribe and port to port"¹².

¹² Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 228.

CHAPTER IV

RAMA AND SOUTH INDIA (C. 2000 B. C.)

The Growth of the Rāmāyaṇa :

The story of Rāma brings the whole of South India into view definitely for the first time. This story is narrated most fully in the Rāmāyaṇa, though almost independent accounts of it also occur in the Mahābhārata, the Raghuvamśa and other works. The evidence of the Rāmāyaṇa has to be taken with care on account of various reasons. It professes to be the work of Vālmīki, a Rṣi who was a contemporary of Rāma, and came to the help of Sītā when her husband, in a panicky mood, banished her, and educated her sons and taught them his great poem, from which they recited some ślokas to their father, when he visited the hermitage where they were reared. On the one hand, there is absolutely no reason which compels us to disbelieve this circumstantial account. On the contrary we cannot believe that the Rāmāyaṇa, as we have it, is exactly the same work as that which Vālmīki composed. For one thing Rāma lived at the end of the second third of the Vedic epoch. The hymns composed in that age, like the earlier and the later ones, are in the Vedic dialect; hence the Rāmāyaṇa of Rāma's days must have been in the Vedic dialect ('Candās' as Pāṇini calls it) or in the Prakrit which was then current. The Rāmāyaṇa as we have it now is in the classical dialect ('Bhāṣā' as Pāṇini calls it), which certainly did not exist before the X century B. C. The Candās dialect disappeared at

about the time of the war of the Mahābhārata, after which the line of mantra-composers died out. The dialect that succeeded the Candas dialect is that used in the Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas, which is intermediate between Candas and Bhāṣā. Another reason why the Rāmāyaṇa as we have it now cannot be taken as the work of Vālmīki, the contemporary of Rāma, is the occurrence in it of the view that Rāma was an incarnation of Viṣṇu, the Supreme Deity. Viṣṇu was not the Supreme Being in the Vedic cult, and the doctrine of His Avatāras is foreign to the Vedic theology. The name of Rāma occurs in Rg Veda x. 93. 14 in a list of Maghavans or lords who instituted sacrifices and gave heavy dakṣiṇa to priests. Here he is mentioned as a human person without any claims to divinity. It is difficult to believe that Vālmīki endowed Rāma with divine status in the latter's life time. Moreover the doctrine of divine incarnations was evolved in the the schools of the Āgamas, which were opposed to the Vedic cult in the earlier ages, so much so that even in the X century A. D. Yāmunaācārya had to write a book called Āgama-prāmāṇya to prove that the Vaiṣṇava Āgamas were as authoritative as the Vedas to the Vaiṣṇavas. On the decline of the Vedic sacrificial cult after the war of Mahābhārata, the Āgama cults attained to prominence in Northern India. Hence the conception that Rāma was one of the Avatāras of Viṣṇu could have got into the story of Rāma, only after the X century B. C. Therefore I conclude that the story of Rāma, as narrated in his life-time by Vālmīki was rewritten after the X century B. C. in the language which Pāṇini called Bhāṣā, and that the concept of Rāma's being an Avatāra, besides other extraneous matter.

got into the story then. In a list of Gotra-founders given in a South Indian edition in *Grantha* characters of the Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra occur the names of Vālmīki and Pāṇini together, as Gotra founders¹; this gives one the impression that a certain Vālmīki and Pāṇini were contemporaries. Probably this Vālmīki of the VII century B. C. revised the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki Prācetas in classical Sanskrit and worked into it the concept of Rāma's being an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Lassen after a critical study of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, has remarked, 'It is true that in the epic poems Rāma and Kṛṣṇa appear as incarnations of Viṣṇu, but they at the same time come before us as human heroes, and these two characters (the divine and the human) are so far from being inseparably blended together, that both of these heroes are for the most part exhibited in no other light than other highly gifted men acting according to human motives and taking no advantage of their divine superiority. It is only in certain sections which have been added for the purpose of enforcing their divine character that they take the character of Viṣṇu. It is impossible to read either of these poems with attention, without being reminded of the later interpolation of these sections, and of the unskilful manner in which these passages are often introduced, and without observing how loosely they are connected with the rest of the narrative, and how unnecessary they are for its progress.'²

The style of the Rāmāyaṇa does not at all give one the impression of a double authorship of the poem. But

¹. I am indebted to Mr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, Assistant Editor, Tamil Lexicon, for this information.

this need be no formidable objection if we remember that the second Vālmiki must have written the poem *de novo*, if he wanted to render it in the Bhāṣā prevalent in his time. ²

Another Rāma story :

The story of Rāma is known to the bulk of the Hindus of India to-day in all its details ; because it is being expounded almost daily in all villages by pandits or improvisitores. But that it was not so in the VII century B.C. and that versions of the Rāma story, different in essential particulars from Vālmiki's poem, existed as folk-tales at that time, is proved by the Daśaratha Jātaka, No. 461 of the (Bauddha) Jātaka. ³ This tale says that Daśaratha, King of Benares, had sixteen thousand wives and that Rāma paṇḍita, i.e., Rāma the wise, Lakṣhaṇakumāra and Sītādēvi were born to his chief queen. After this queen died, Daśaratha set up another lady as chief queen ; to her was born Bharata. This queen began to worry him to give the kingdom to her son. Daśaratha refused to do so but bade Rāma and Lakṣhaṇa and Sītādēvi live in the forest for twelve years, lest the new queen should encompass their destruction and to claim the kingdom after twelve years when the soothsayer (nimitta) said he would die. They retired to the Hīmalayas where they lived in a hermitage. Nine years after this the

² For a very careful study of this question, vide Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts vol. iv. pp. 164-182, whence the above quotation from Lassen has been taken; pp. 441-491 of the same work may also be consulted.

³ Whatever was the date when this Jātaka was written, the tale must have existed long before it.

king died of sorrow and Bharata repaired to the hermitage and begged Rama to return and rule the kingdom. Rāma refused to return before the period of twelve years ordained by his father expired, and gave Bharata his slippers (pāduka) and told him that the slippers would govern the kingdom for three years. Then Bharata, Lakshmana and Sītādevī returned to the capital with the slippers. When the three years were over, Rāma went to Benares, was crowned king with Sītā as his queen and reigned in righteousness (dhammena rajjan karotva) for 16,000 years and entered Svarga. The fact that this tale prevailed among the common people and was pressed into service by the Bauddhas, who made Rāma a Bodhisattva who after many births was born as Gautama, proves that Vālmiki's version was not known to a section of the common people at that date. Probably the recomposition of the epic in delightfully beautiful, and at the same time simple Sanskrit by the Valmiki who was a contemporary of Pāṇini, incorporating the Āgama doctrine of Rāma's being an incarnation of Viṣṇu, made the poem widely popular after the VII century B. C., when Bhakti cults became popular in North India. Of course, all this is mere theory, but it is the only theory that will fit in with the facts.

References to South India in the Rāmāyaṇa :

Taking the above as a working hypothesis we have a means of separating the references in the Rāmāyaṇa to South India which form vital portions of the story as belonging to Rama's time, from those which were introduced in the first millennium B. C. by the later Vālmiki who knew something about the South India of his time and anachronistically introduced them into the

version. Thus we may take it that in Rāma's days the rule of the Rākṣasas extended to the south of the Godāvarī, near which river was situated the Rākṣasa outpost of Janasthāna *. North of the Godāvarī a number of Aryan kingdoms had been established, but they were not powerful enough to check the incursions of Yakṣas and Rākṣasas into the regions beyond the Vindhya. For when Rāma visited those regions along with Viśvāmitra, to guard the latter's sacrifices from being disturbed by Rākṣasas, he had to fight with the Yakṣiṇī, Tāṭaka, Mārica, her son, who had become a Rākṣasa, and Subāhu, who three had strayed north of the Vindhya. It was near the banks of the Godāvarī up to which river the Rṣi settlements had gone in Rāma's days, that large numbers of Rākṣasas roamed, for it was near the borders of Rāvaṇa's realm and they could count on his help. There Rāvaṇa's brother, gigantic Khara, persecuted the Āryas who lived in Janasthāna. The Rṣis who met Rāma in the forest near bitterly complained about the atrocities committed by them :—"Anāryas stand in front of other sages and soon spoil (their rites) with impure and unclean things. Those small-minded men take delight in ruining from behind (the austerities) of the ascetics in their hermitages. When oblations are (about) to be offered in the holy Agni, they throw away the sacrificial vessels, pour water over the fires and break the pots."⁵

* The following references for this statement are given by Pargiter op. cit. p. 277, viz. M. Bh. iii. 2. 76, 15986, vii. 59, 2226; Rām. ii. 116. 11, iii. 1825.

⁵ Aprasastair aśucibhīḥ samprajoyyaca tūpasān |
pratighnanti aparāṇ ksipram anāryāḥ purataḥ sthitāḥ ||
tesu tesvāsrāma sthānesu abuddham avalīya ca | ramanto
tūpasāmstatra nūṣayanto alpacetasaḥ ||.

This passage vividly brings home to us the contempt of the Anāryas for the Ārya rites in Rāma's days. These Anāryas did not speak Sanskrit. In the Veda they are called *mridhra vāca* *, of injurious speech, and *anāsa* †, mouthless, devoid of (good) speech, a phrase misinterpreted by European scholars to mean 'noseless' and supposed by them to refer to the flat noses of the Dasyus. The words refer to the fact that the Rākṣasas spoke an idiom, different from the Āryan; and the Rāmāyaṇa confirms this when it says that Ilvala, the Rākṣasa, tried to deceive Brāhmaṇas by disguising himself as a Brāhmaṇa and speaking Sanskrit, which apparently was not his mother tongue *. Another such significant remark in this poem refers to the characteristic difference of funeral customs between the Āryas and the Dasyus. Throughout the world till the Ārya fire-cult arose, burial was the normal form of disposal of the dead, except where the still older custom of exposing the corpses to the destructive forces of natural agencies prevailed. The fire-cult gave birth to the custom of cremation—the offering of the dead man to the Gods through fire. In India and elsewhere the introduction of cremation is a sure sign of the spread of the Ārya cult. The Rākṣasas being Anāryas

avakṣipanti srug bhāṇḍaṇ agnīn siñcanti vāriṇa | kala-
śūmṣa pramṛḍnanti havane samupasthite. |

Ram. ii. 116.15-17.

* R.V.I, 174. 2, v. 32. 8

† R.V.v, 29, 10

* dhārayan brāhmaṇam rūpam ilvalaḥ samskr̥tam
vadan. Pām. iii. 11. 58.

buried their dead. So Virādha, when he was killed by Rāma, exhorts him to bury his corpse for that was the old law of the Rākṣasas ². These casual references to non-Aryan customs cannot at all be regarded as later interpolations, but help to throw light on the fact that in Rāma's time Aryan customs had begun to spread but slowly south of the Godāvari. The compelling influence of Aryan civilization made a few Rākṣasas learn Sanskrit. Ilvala was not the only Anūrya who learnt that language. Rāvaṇa is described to have become an expert in it. So much so that when Hanumān, discussing with himself in what language he ought to converse with Sītā, remarks that if he spoke Sanskrit she would mistake him for Rāvaṇa ³ Hanumān himself is said to have been the eighth great Sanskrit grammarian but this perhaps refers to a much later Hanumān. Moreover many Rākṣasas became great Brāhmanas, expert students of the Veda and performers of austerities. They were called Brahmarākṣasas. The Agastyas and Viśvāmitras belonged to this class. The Paulastyas, of whom Rāvaṇa was one, and the Naiṣṭyas were also Brahmarākṣasas. ⁴

When Bharata marched in the wake of Rāma to induce him to return to Ayodhyā, he remarked that his

"avate cāpi mām rāma prakṣipyā kuśalivrajā |
rākṣasām gatasattvānām eṣa dharmah sanātanaḥ | Rām.
iii. 4. 20.

² "Yadi vācam pradāsyāmi dvijātiriva samskr-
tām | rāvanam manyamānā mām sītā bhīta bhaviṣyati ||
vānarasya viśeṣa katham syād abhibhāṣaṇam |
avaśyam eva vaktavyam mūṇusam vākyam arthavat |
Rām. v. 20. 19.

³ For references vide Pargiter op.cit. p. 242

warriors bore shields black like the clouds and wore flowers on their heads like the southerners.¹² The people of ancient South India grew a whole head of hair, since the profession of the barber was unknown to them, as is proved by the fact that there is no genuine Tamil word for the barber, the existing words being either borrowed from Sanskrit or late compound names. The Tamils loved to decorate their hair with all kinds of flowers one for each region they inhabited and one for each separate incident in love and war. In fact the science of the language of flowers was highly developed among them: so much so that there is no improbability in this fact being known to Northerners even in early days.

Some non-genuine references

The references to South India by the Rāmāyaṇa given above certainly belong to the earlier layer of the poem, but the following reference to Tamil kingdoms equally certainly does not. When Sugrīva was organising the search for Sītā in all directions he sent a band of followers to the South. In giving an account of this, the poet gives a list of the kingdoms that lay to the south of the Vindhya and not merely South of Kiṣkindhā and includes in that list the kingdoms of the Andhras, the Puṇḍras, the Colas and the Pāṇḍyas with the Keralas¹³. In giving directions to the army which he sent to the west he mentions Muracipattanam which perhaps is Musiri,

¹² Kurvanti kusumāñḍān śīrassa surabhīnami |
meghaprakāśaiḥ paṭakair dāksinātyāḥ yathānarāḥ |
Ayodh. Kāṇḍ 43. 13.

¹³ Tathaiḥ āndhrāmasa puṇḍrāmasa colān pāṇḍyān
sakeralān. Kiṣk. Kāṇḍ. 41.2

the great ancient sea-port of the Malabar coast¹⁴. These two references if they belong to the Rāmāyaṇa at all, cannot belong to the earlier draft of the poem. Nor again, the other reference to the Pāṇḍyas which is found in all recensions, where Sugriva bids his monkey-host behold on the shore of the ocean the Pāṇḍya's golden gates decked with pearl and gold¹⁵. The general run of the story of the Rāmāyaṇa has the implication that all India south of the Godāvarī was under the sway of Rāvaṇa, except the districts in the most thickly wooded interior of Daṇḍakāraṇya which belonged to the Vānaras who had chiefs of their own. The jealous and all powerful Rāvaṇa would not have brooked for a moment the prevalence of the Pāṇḍyas near his own doors. Moreover, if the Pāṇḍyas had been rulers at the time, it is impossible to believe that they joined neither side in the great war between Rāvaṇa and Rāma. Moreover these districts not even that of the Pāṇḍyas,

¹⁴ Kišk. Kāṇḍ. 42.13. This and the above passage are not translated in Griffith's Rāmāyaṇa; hence I take it that they are not found in the northern recensions of the poem.

¹⁵ tato hemamayam divyam muktā maṇi vibhūṣitam | yuktaṁ kavāṭam pāṇḍyānām gatādrakṣyata vānarāḥ. § Govindarāja, a Tamil man, commenting on this passage explains kavāṭam here as referring to a town of that name. Probably Govindarāja had heard of the Tamil tradition that Kavāṭapuram was an ancient capital of the Pāṇḍyas and imports this knowledge into his commentaries. The Tamil tradition itself belongs only to a late period of Tamil literature and may have been invented on account of a misunderstanding of this very passage of the Rāmāyaṇa.

from whose coast Rāma crossed to Ceylon, are not mentioned when describing Rāma's march in the southernmost part of India. He started his famous bridge from the Pāṇḍya country and if the Pāṇḍyas had existed in his time, it would have been mentioned in this part of the poem.

I therefore hold that the three ancient powers of 85]a, Śera and Pāṇḍya rose, probably as a result of the extinction of Hāyana's rule, after the age of the Rāmāyaṇa. The reference to the Pāṇḍyas or all the three in the Rāmāyaṇa must have been put into the story in the second draft of the poem in the first millennium B.C.

Agastya :

One more point connected with the Rāmāyaṇa has to be discussed here. The first Agastya, husband of Lopāmudrā, a princess of Vidarbha, was a contemporary of Alarka, king of Kāśī, who lived a little more than twenty generations before Rāma¹⁶. Thus the earliest Agastya lived in the region immediately south of the Vindhyas. This is perhaps the meaning of the fable, that he crushed down the Vindhyas and ordered the mountain to remain low till he returned from the south¹⁷. His āśrama was "apparently near Mount Vaidurya (the western part of the Sātpura Ranges)."¹⁸ He made the southern region perfectly safe by means of his austerities¹⁹. But the Agastya whom Rāma met

¹⁶ Fargiter op. cit. pp. 168, 169.

¹⁷ MBh. iii, 103, Rām. iii, 11, 84.

¹⁸ MBh. iii, 88, 8344. Fargiter op. cit. p. 240.

¹⁹ Rām. iii, 11, 81, vi, 177, 14.

'two yojanas' from Pāñcavaṭī could²⁰ not have been the first Agastya, who lived about four centuries before Rāma's time, but must have been one of the later Agastyas: for this Agastya of Rāma's days lived near the Godāvarī, near which in his āśrama Rāma stayed on his way south. It continued to be his āśrama on his way north when he returned along with Sītā on his car, Puṣpaka. Hence Agastya's āśrama during the whole period of the wanderings of Rāma was two yojanas from Pāñcavaṭī. Yet, when Sugriva sent his Vānaras to the South to search for Sītā, he told them that they would see Kāveri's stream whose waters were holy, benign and bright and frequented by apsaras girls: near by they would see, seated on the top of Malaya hill (Coorg) brilliant as the sun, Agastya, the excellent Rsi²¹. Here we see Agastya spirited away, by the poet, as Sītā was by Rāvaṇa, from Pāñcavaṭī and dropped on the top of the Malaya hill. Hence this must have been inserted by the later poet who lived after the Agastyas had proceeded further south than the Agastya of Rāma's time and settled in the Tamil country.

Spread of the Aryan cults in South India:

Great must have been the consequences of Rāma's victory and the extinction of Rāvaṇa's power in South India. The Aryans who had been pushing south of Janasthāna even before Rāma's time now spread in

²⁰ Rām. iii, 13.13.

²¹ *tatastām āgām divyām prasanna salilām
śivām | tatra drakṣyathe kaverīm vihitām apsarogaṇaiḥ ||
tasyāśinām nagasyāgre malayasya mahaujaśām |
drakṣathāditya saṅkūśam agastyam ṛṣiruttamam. Rām.
v, 41, 15—16.*

larger numbers further south. The number of Brahmarākṣasas increased. This word, brahmarākṣasa, has acquired unsavoury associations in later usage. Absurd fables have been invented about their activities. But it originally meant either the progeny of Brāhmanas who had allied themselves with the Dasyus and the Rakṣasas, like the sons of Viśvāmitra, who naturally became Brāhmanas and formed the Viśvāmitras or Kauśikas²² or those who became the disciples of the Agastyas and were affiliated to their gotra. Even before those, the Bhārgavas and their spiritual descendants had begun to spread in South India. These families constituted the nucleus of the brahminism of South India. The Brāhmanas of this part of the country have this peculiarity, that in some respects they preserve the customs of the Vedic age intact and in others they have adopted South Indian customs unknown to Āryāvarta. On the one hand they shave their heads so as to display a top-knot quite as prominently as the ancient Vasiṣṭhas;²³ they wear two clothes, called, in old days, the pavasta and vavri²⁴ or the parodhāsam and nivi²⁵ and whenever possible, avoid stitched cloths. In this latter respect women are more particular than men,

²² The Bhāgavata Purāṇa ix, 16. 29-37 says that Maddhucchandasa and the other younger sons who obeyed Viśvāmitra became Kauśikas and the elder sons who disobeyed him belonged to the Viśvāmitra gotra, Pargiter, op. cit. p. 235.

²³ R.V. vii, 33. 1.

²⁴ A.V. iv, 7. 6.

²⁵ A.V. ix, 10.7.

²⁶ A.V. viii, 2. 16.

But, on the other hand, some anārya customs are very dear to Southern ladies, such as the tying of the tāli as the most important act of the marriage-rite²⁷ and the wearing round the neck a bit of thread dyed in turmeric. Again the way in which the husband that is to be is welcomed by the mother of the bride and the bridesmaids is a relic of old Dasyu rites. He and his bride are made to stand beneath the marriage-pandal, their feet symbolically washed in milk and balls of rice dyed in red thrown in all directions²⁸. These customs must have been introduced into the Ārya rite of vivāha by the Dasyu ladies whom the early Ārya immigrants married. Such old Dasyu rites were regarded as so sacred by these Dasyu wives that Āpastamba, the law-giver of the South Indian Āryas and one of the latest of the Sūtrakāras, has said that 'the knowledge which Sūdras and woman possess is the completion of all study'²⁹. South Indian women follow religiously an-

²⁷ This is a pure Tamil custom, absolutely unknown to the Gṛhya Sūtras, which consider pāṇigrahana, the taking of the hand, and the sapta-pādī the taking of the seven steps, as the vital act of the sacrament of marriage.

²⁸ Reception of the bride and the bridegroom under a pandal put up for the occasion is described in Agam 86, *சனாகந்தனப்பெரும் பத்தி*. The balls of red rice are a brahminical substitute for balls of rice mixed with blood such as is described in Tirumurugāṟṟuppadai as being offered to Murugan in worshipping him. *குருமோடி கிணைய நாவெண்ணெய் கம்பக் கொட்டி*, II, 232-4 'pure white rice mixed with blood offered as minor offering'.

²⁹ Sāṁsthā yāvidyā strīṣu sūdrasuca. Dharma Sūtras II, xi, 29, II,

other custom unknown to their northern sisters—that of crossing their skirts between the legs, i. e. wearing a kaccha. This is clearly not a Dasyu custom, because it is not followed by ladies of other than the Brāhmsa caste. Probably because their Ārya husbands attached a special holiness to the kaccha, the wives in early days imitated it, so as to distinguish them from their unryanised, unregenerate, Dasyu sisters.

A rational explanation :

G. Ramadas Pantulu of Jeypore (Vizagapatam agency) has sent me a note offering some proofs to justify the theory that Rāvana's followers were primitive Dravidians. The most primitive Dravidian dialect we have is the Kūi (sometimes wrongly called Khond) spoken in the hill tracts between the Central Provinces and the Northern Circars. The speakers of this dialect preserve ancient customs which the more civilized of the Dravidians have outgrown. The author of the note has lived among the Kūi for many years and his information is first hand. He says, "Every Kūi village has, at its entrance, a goddess by name 'Nisān Pennu.' It is represented by a round oval-shaped stone of about 6 to 9 inches in height and it is installed under a tree at the gate. That it may not be interfered with by men or animals, it is covered by a heap of stones. It is believed that, if this stone is broken or removed from its place, or in any way injured, some evil would befall the village. The villagers make offerings of fowls, goats, buffaloes, cows or pigs to this goddess, on every festive occasion." This fact is discernible behind Vālmiki's poetic account of Hanumān's encounter with Lankā the guardian goddess of Rāvana's capital, when she

was vanquished by him. She was the invincible protectress of the city and the self-existent lord had told her, 'when thou shalt be vanquished by the valiant monkey, know that danger will overtake the Rākṣasas'²⁰. Even today every South Indian village possesses a border-goddess, *ellaiyamman*, worshipped chiefly by the lower orders but treated by the higher castes as one of the innumerable manifestations of *Durgā*, the supreme mother-goddess.

Entering the city Hanumān found among pleasure-spots a 'dāru-parvatam,' 'a hillock of felled trees'. Ramdas Pantulu says, "in the Agency tracts of the Vizagapatam districts, *dāru* is understood to mean 'fuel'. Fuel stacked in the form of hillocks or towers is a common sight in this Agency. As the rains pour so abundantly in these hills such stacks become a necessity as a provision against the season, when it is not possible to secure a piece of dry wood. As it was after the rains that Hanumān went to *Lankā*, it is no wonder that the *Vānara* spy saw such structures, within the precincts of *Rāvaṇa*'s abode"²¹.

Another point mentioned by Ramdas Pantulu may be noted. "When *Rāvaṇa* went to battle he was followed by beings who had faces of tigers, horses,

* * * *aham tu nagarī lankā svayameva plavaṅgama |
nirjitāham tvayā vīra vikramena mahābala || idam ca
tathyam śrūṇu me bruvāntyā vai harīśvara | svyam
svayambhunā datta varadānam yathā mama |*

*yadā tvāmvānarah kaseid vikramād vaśam ānayoḥ |
tadā tvayā vijñeyam rakṣasām bhayamāgatam || Rām.
V. 3, 45-47.*

²¹ Rām. V. 6, 36.

camels, stags etc.³² These bhūtas were Rākṣasa soldiers wearing masks resembling the faces of animals. This was one of the several means the Rākṣasas are said to have used to terrify the peaceful settlers of the Daṇḍaka forest, or their enemies in battle." No doubt the northern Dasyus who fought with the Āryas also used similar devices and earned the reputation of employing magic practices."³³ The Kūi tribesmen also have the custom of wearing masks of the head of wild animals or wearing bison or stag horns on their heads. This custom which was originally intended for wars, is now adopted in times of amusements such as dances. 'The war dress of the Khopās (i.e. Kuis) is elaborate, and consists of a leather cuirass in front and a flowing red cloak, which with an arrangement of bison horns and peacock's feathers is supposed to strike awe into the beholder's minds.' (Thurston's *Castes and Tribes*, III p. 364). 'For dances,.....stag and bison-horns are also worn on the heads of some' (Central Provinces Gazetteers, Chatisgarh Federatory States, (p 51)."

Ramadas Pantulu has also an illuminating note on the ten heads of Rāvana. It has been long guessed that

³² Yaseciya nānā vidha ghora rūpāṃ vyāghrostra
nāgendra mygāśva vaktraṃ | bhūtairvṛto bhāṣi vivṛta
netraṃ soṣau surēnūmapi darpahantā | . Rām. vi. 59. 24.

³³ pra māyīnām aminād varpaṇitīḥ, 'weak grew the
wily leader of enchanters', (Griffith), R.V. iii. 34. 3.

māyāvān abrahmaṃ dasyuh, "the sorcerer, prayerless
Dasyu", R.V. iv. 16. 9.

Saṁasya māyā, 'Śaṣṇa's magic', R.V. v. 31. 7.

Rāvana's ten heads are due to a misunderstanding of the words *daśāsya* and *daśagrīva*. Ramdas Pantulu gives a plausible explanation of the origin of these two words.

"*Daśāsya* is a name applied to Rāvana; it and its cognate forms *Daśagrīva*, *Daśānana* are understood to signify ten heads. Consequently, Rāvana has ever been pictured as a demon with ten heads. But Vālmīki, no where in his book, describes him so; and in every place he presents him with one head and two arms. Such being the case, how can the interpretation given by the commentators to these other names of the Rākṣasa lord be justified? The significance of these words must be quite different. So *Daśāsya* and *Daśagrīva* considered from their usage in the epic seem to expose a particular character of the person to whom they are applied. In the expressions '*Rāvaṃsūma bhadrante daśagrīvaḥ pratāpavān*' (III. 48. 2). '*Seṣṭayāḥ vacanam śrūtvā daśagrīvaḥ pratāpavān*' the construction of '*pratāpavān*' is similar to that in *Rākṣasendraḥ pratāpavān*. In the three quotations the *pratāpa* or glory possessed by Rāvana is illustrated by the words preceding it. The meaning of the last is clear because it means that Ravana had the glory of being the king of the Rākṣasas. But the meaning of the first two cannot be understood unless we first know for what Rāvana was famous. That fame of the Rākṣasa lord is revealed in

Rāvano=Loka-rāvaṇaḥ.

Rāvano=śatru-rāvaṇaḥ.

ahirmāyasya 'of one who knew the viles of serpents'. vi. 20. 7.

adevīḥ māyāḥ, 'godless arts of magic.' R.V. vii. 1. 10.

Yena vitrasita = loka = ssadev = āsura pannagāh

loka-kṣobhayitāramca nādaibbhūta virāvinam.

He vexed the worlds; he vexed his enemies; he struck terror to the worlds of the gods, the asuras and the pannages; he vexed the worlds and terrified the beings by his voice.

These show that his main glory consisted in causing vexation to every one. 'Daśagrīvaḥ pratāpavān' meant originally that he had the glory of causing vexation or affliction. So must Dāśasya mean also the same. 'Sa' or 'asi' is a termination of personal nouns in Kūi. The original word Daśāsi or Daśāsa can easily become 'daśāsyā' in Sanskrit. Rāvana was a daśāsi or an afflicting man.

In Kūi 'giva' is a verbal termination; daśa-giva means to afflict, dā-giva, to irritate; vepa-giva, to kill or to knock; oha-giva, to take; baṇḍi-giva, to cheat, are other examples of Kūi infinitives formed by adding 'giva' to nouns. 'Daśa-giva' easily becomes 'daśagrīva'. The expression 'daśa-grīvaḥ pratāpavān' intimates that all his prowess or glory was to afflict. This meaning is more consistent with the character of Rāvana than the one which places ten necks on his shoulders."

CHAPTER V.

THE CULTURE OF THE TAMILS DURING II MILLENNIUM B. C.

Literary conventions and the life of the people :

From the Rāmāyaṇa we can but get a very meagre idea of the life and culture of the early Tamils. We ought to remember that the Rāmāyaṇa can but be a highly prejudiced witness with regard to this question. The Rākṣasas, being the dreaded enemies of the Āryas, are naturally described as ogres in bodily shape and monsters of cruelty. But a more correct idea of the culture of the Tamils in very early times can be derived from analysing the literary conventions of the Tamil poetry of a later age. By literary conventions I do not mean artificial canons of criticism. The Tamil literary conventions are not rules unconsciously followed by poets and codified by critics of a later age, like Aristotle's canons of epic poetry and those described by Horace. Ancient Tamil literary conventions were petrifications of old customs developed by the action of the environment on human life. Literary conventions, especially of the early, unsophisticated stages of literature which existed long before the rise of the much later artificial poetry of Sanskrit and Tamil, were based on the actual customs and manners of the people. At first the bards sang as unconsciously as the lark, and their poetry was a true mirror of the life led by the people of those times. Later poets kept up the traditional imagery of earlier ones even when the conditions of life that gave birth to

these traditions had altered and then these poetic images became mere literary conventions. For example, in early days the wealth of the people consisted in cattle; and quarrels arose between chiefs when they stole each other's cattle. Hence to sing of war as beginning with the lifting of the enemy's cattle represented the actual state of affairs in a certain stage of the evolution of human history. In later ages other causes of war arose; but literary convention required the poet to sing of a preliminary cattle-lifting as the invariable beginning of hostilities. So in later poetry, still of the period preceding the rise of Tamil artificial poetry in the VI century A.D., a large number of literary conventions strictly regulated the composition of poetry, both of love and war.

From these conventions we can go back in imagination to the ages when the poems sung by bards faithfully reflected the life which people actually led. From this age we can go back to the age before the rise of poetry and get a glimpse of the life which Indians led in the very remote past. Peeping thus into the far past, we can visualise the life of the South Indians, about 2,000 B. C. or earlier. Before doing so we ought to remember that progress in remote antiquity was much slower than in the present days of wireless telegraphy and the aeroplane. The breathlessly hasty changes of our present-day life and the slow movement, imperceptible as that of the glacier, of life and thought in ancient days are poles apart; hence what was true of 2,000 B.C. was equally true of much earlier times. In those far-off days, man, like other animals, lived entirely subject to geographical conditions and his life was almost a passive reaction to the conditions of his environment, thus

affording a striking contrast to present-day life when man has learnt to conquer physical limitations and can struggle successfully with the snows of the arctic regions and transcend even the laws of gravitation by flying to the upper layers of the atmosphere.

Literary conventions of love poems derived from actual life-conditions :

It has been already pointed out in Chapter I that the habitable parts of the earth's surface can be divided, and were divided by ancient Tamil poets, into five regions—the region of low hills, slightly wooded, where man first lived and hunted, the sandy desert where water is scarce and vegetation sparse and where man first developed martial virtues and predatory impulses, the forest region where the pastoral stage of human life was first reached, the coastal region, where man learnt to fish and to sail on boats and to barter fish and salt for grain, and the lower river-valley where the arts of agriculture and weaving were invented. The passage of man from one culture to another took long periods of time; it was chiefly owing to migrations of men from region to region; but each region retained its own culture when the succeeding ones arose. Thus in the Kuriñji or hill country where the first stages of human culture arose, men led the semi-nomad life of the hunter. The course of love was not deterred by social conventions, and love at first sight followed by its immediate consummation was the norm. In much later times arose the celebration of marriage by a public reception of the wedded pair, followed by a tribal feast but the age-long custom of love passages preceding the wedding festival was kept up, as it is even to-day, among the hill-tribes. Again, men and women of the hill tracts were satisfied with a

minimum of dress. Innumerable strings of shells hanging from the neck and a garland of flowers and leaves (from which in later times was developed the girdle, *mekhalā*) round the hips, were enough to cover the person; and among Kūṭavar to-day this same dress prevails in the interior of the Kūṭiṇi land and when these Kūṭavar visit the low country, the only change in their dress is the substitution of rags for the belt made of leaves and flowers. When poetry first arose among the Kūṭavar the bards naturally sang about the pre-nuptial loves of hill-chieftains and their presenting their mistresses with leaf-garments, (*taḷai nḍai*) and the teeth of the tigers which the hill-chiefs killed in the chase; these teeth were strung together and worn hanging from the neck and called *pulippaṇṇālī*¹ from which in later times was evolved the gold *tālī*. Later it became a literary convention that pre-nuptial love (*kaḷavu*) ought to be the subject-matter only of the class of poems called *Kūṭiṇjittinai*, to be associated only with the fauna and flora of the hill-country and with the presentation of leaf-garments, with the attribution of love-sickness to the possession of the girl by the hill god Murugan and its cure by exorcism, etc.; all the incidents of the uneven course of true love were classified and prescribed as the subject-matter of *Kūṭiṇjittinai*.

Similarly the subject-matter of the poems of *Mullaittinai*, those correlated to the wooded region, was fixed as the woe of the short separation of lovers such as will take place when the herdsmen goes away from his mistress to tend his cattle and as the joy of their re-union and *Mullai* poems draw their images from the

¹ Ornament made of tiger's teeth, hanging from the neck as the sign of the married state, also worn by boys.

natural objects and the customs of the pastoral regions. Poems of Neydal tñai dealt with the longer separation necessitated by fishing expeditions and the making love to the beauties with a black shining skin from which was constantly emanating the smell of dried fish. Pālaittñai, poetry of the dry desert, was born in connection with the very long separation incidental to the predatory life of the inhabitants of the dreary stretches of the sandy plain; hence the pangs of long separation became the subject-matter of Pālai poetry; this was the nearest approach to the tragic muse which the early Tamil temperament could stand, for tragedy as such was proscribed from the dominion of the Tamil muse. Finally, formal marriage and post-nuptial love (Kēppu) and the thorns on its path such as the disorganization of domestic life by the seductions of hetairae, the consequent quarrels between the wedded lovers and the delightful reconciliations that succeeded the quarrels, became the subject-matter of Marudattñai, the poetry of the river-valleys. It is easy to understand that these refinements of civilization were evolved in the agricultural region, where the hard work for a few months in the damp rice-fields was followed by an enforced leisure during the periods once when the corn was ripening and again after the grain had been garnered and the soil had to be given rest so that it might be ready for the next year's ploughing. Lovers' quarrels and amatory exploits were the only available amusements during this period of leisure.

Conventions of war-poetry based on the conditions of the terrain :

Besides love, the other subject of poetry was war. Wars in the Kūrññi consisted merely in the lifting of

cattle (Veṭci) so called because the raiders wore a garland of veṭci flowers; and their recovery from the deprecators (karandai), named for a similar reason. The forest region adjoining was the primitive first line of defence and was hence called Kāvaṭkāḍu; chiefs wearing vañji garlands led expeditions into the forest lands; this was called Vañji. When kings established their capitals in the river-valleys (Marudam), they built forts for their protection and siege operations became a part of military science. During these operations the uḷiñai creeper was worn and the poetry that described them came under the class Uḷiñai. Stand-up fights involving military tactics are possible only on an open battle-field, far from the wooded and the cultivated lands, and became associated with the broad plains near the sea-coast (Neydal) and came to be denominated Tumbai, because tumbai garlands were worn in these fights on the open plain. Finally, analogous to the parting of lovers associated with Pēlai, the desert, was the Vāgai, which sang of success, the singers wearing vāgai garlands, as well as of the tragedy of war and the desolation of the country resulting from fights.

It may be noted here that all these different kinds (tinais) of poetry have been named after flowers. Each flower was the characteristic product of one region or another. Garlands of these flowers were worn as symbols of the particular incident of love or war described. Flowers formed the distinctive uniforms of soldiers in military operations. The ancient Tamils delighted in flowers and decorated their persons, their tools and other belongings, and their houses and pandals with leaves and flowers from very early times.

This same love of nature was the cause why they beautified their tools, their houses, their furniture, and their vessels with carvings imitative of creepers, leaves, flowers and animals. It is only to-day that ugly, undecorated, machine-made articles are displacing decorated ones in Tamil houses and are thus effacing the aesthetic sense from the souls of those who have taken to modern civilization. The Tamils hence developed a complicated language of flowers which expressed their thoughts in symbolic form, in their life as well as in their poems.

The evolution of literary conventions :

These various conventions of poetry are fully discussed in my coming book on *The Ancient Tamils* as depicted in the *Poruḷadigāram* of *Tolkāppiyam*. Here I am only concerned to point out that the literary conventions described in that grammar must have grown in these stages :—

(1) The period (and it must have been a very long period to be counted in thousands of years) when the five stages of human culture gradually evolved in the five natural regions.

(2) The stage when bards began to sing in each region and unconsciously reflected in their poems the conditions of life in that region, its fauna and flora, and the customs developed there in response to environment.

(3) The period when the practice of poets crystallised into fixed literary conventions, so rigid, that a poem sung in whatever natural region, if it dealt with a particular incident, ought to be assigned to its proper

tinai, the word tinai having acquired the double meaning of (a) a natural region, (b) a class of poems dealing with events once naturally, now conventionally, associated with one of the five natural regions.

These conventions are described in the *Poruḷadigāram* (section on the subject-matter of poetry) of the Tamil grammar called *Tolkāppiyam* by *Tolkāppiyānār*. This is the earliest extant Tamil book and was probably composed not later than the I or II century A.D. This book refers to previous treatises on the grammar of poetry, none of which is now available, and presupposes the existence of a vast volume of Tamil poetic literature, on which the grammar was based, most or all of which is lost. *Tolkāppiyānār* describes hundreds of incidents occurring in the course of love and war which are proper subjects of poetic treatment. With regard to each one of those incidents he must have had in mind a few odes which had been composed by poets who lived before his time; for it is absurd to think that the critic analysed a priori the course of love and war into a series of possible incidents and then poets began to sing about each of these incidents described by the critic. The earliest Tamil poems which are now extant belong, almost all, to the age that succeeded the time of *Tolkāppiyānār* and commentators on the *Tolkāppiyam* find it difficult to discover in this later poetry illustrations for many of *Tolkāppiyār's* rules; sometimes their illustrative quotations are inappropriate and oftentimes they fail altogether in their attempt to illustrate *Tolkāppiyānār's* rules and tell the reader to find his own illustrations when he can. From all this it is evident that a vast Tamil literature was composed before *Tolkāppiyānār's* time. Five

centuries would be a modest estimate for the period during which this literature grew. Before this literature with its petrified poetic conventions began, there must have been another literature in which these conventions were realities, when, for instance, the poet did not merely as a matter of form attribute the birth of love to the hill country, but reflected in his songs the life-conditions of each natural region. In that far-off age temporary separation of lovers was not conventionally referred to the four tracts—Mullai, Neydal, Marudam or Pālai—but the poet living and singing in each region described the pangs of the separation of lovers, which he noticed in that region. It will not be an exaggerated estimate to ascribe a period of five centuries to the development of what one might call, the natural poetry which preceded the conventional poetry on which Tolkāppiyānār based his grammar. We thus reach about 1000 B. C. as the later limit of the birth of Tamil poetry. The culture that led to the evolution of this poetry and was reflected in it must have taken ages to grow and we can hence conclude that the early culture of the Tamils must have been reached by them a few millenniums before Christ.

Tribal chiefs as Heroes of poems :

From early times the bards sang with an eye to profit. So the heroes of their poems were tribal chiefs. War was necessarily conducted by such chiefs. It was only in rare cases that common people could have occasion to perform specially heroic exploits; but ordinarily the credit of the various incidents of war would go to the chiefs. The heroes of love poetry were also kings, for it would not pay to sing about the loves

of the poor. Such chiefs were, as were their followers, named with reference to the regions they inhabited. Says Tolkāppianar, "The names of the tribes of the tinais are of two kinds, namely, those derived from the nouns and verbs (*i.e.*, qualities and actions), pertaining to the tinais. The tinais names of men, Āyar (herdsmen), Vaṭṭavar (huntsmen), etc., belong to their chiefs too. The tinais names of other (regions), if examined, are similar (and so those of the chiefs)."² These tribal names have now become caste-names, *e.g.* Kuṟavar, Paraḍavar, Idaiyar, Vaḷḷālar. It is but natural that endogamy should prevail among the people who are confined to particular regions and have developed customs peculiar to the occupations which their physical environment has imposed on the tribe, and endogamy as well as the attachment to old tribal customs on the part of women has been the cause why tribes have become castes. The influence of the tribal chiefs or kings has also tended to petrify tribal customs. The Kingship of the tribal head was probably of a very primitive type, for there is little in the early Tamil odes or in the Poruḷadigāram to indicate that the art of government was developed or followed any kind of political science, theoretical or practical.

² பெயரும் வினைபெயரும் றுயிரு வகைய
 தினைதொது மரீஇய தினைசிலைப் பெயரே,
 ஆயர் வேட்டுய ராடுத்தினைப் பெய
 ராவயின் வளையத் திழவரு முளரே
 ஏடுஞர் மருத்தினு மெண்ணுங் காலை
 யாளு வகைய தினைசிலைப் பெயரே.

Poetic conventions region by region :

The gods of the various regions are called the first of the seed-topics (*karupporul*) of the regions. They will be taken up for discussion presently ; besides them the other seed-topics are foodstuffs, beasts, trees, birds, drums, occupations, musical instruments, etc. appropriate to each region and the kind of poetry pertaining to it². The enumeration of the seed-topics will show what keen observers the ancient Tamil poets were and how anxious they were to be absolutely true to nature. The foodstuffs peculiar to Mullai are the millets and the lentils ; the animals, the deer, the hare ; the trees, Konrai (cassia), Kurundu and the tall Pudal grass ; the birds, jungle-fowl and the partridge ; the occupations, grazing herds and the garnering of millets ; the amusement, bull-racing ; the flowers, Mullai, which gave its name to the region, Pidavu, Talavu, and Tōṅṅi ; and the sources of water supply, mountain streams.

Appropriate to Kuriñji are Aivanam (hill-rice), bamboo-rice and Tinai (*panicum*) ; the tiger, the elephant the bear and the boar ; the trees, Agil (*Agallochum*), Atti (*Bauhinia Racemosa*), Timiṇu and Vāṅgal (varieties of *Pterocarpus*) ; the birds, the parrot and the peafowl ; the occupations, honey-gathering, raising the tinai, extermination of locusts and hunting ; the flowers, Kuriñji (*Lawsonia Spinosa*), Kāndaḷ (*Gloriosa Superba*) and Sunaikkuvai (hill-lily) ; the sources of water-supply, mountain-streams and tanks.

* தெய்வ முணுவே மாமரம் புட்பதை
செய்தி யாழின் பகுதியெய்தி தொகைஇ
யவ்வதை பிறவும் அருவென மொழிப.

Relating to Marudam are red rice and white rice; the buffalo and the beaver; Marudam (*Terminalia Alata*), Kāñji, and the creeper Vañji; the duck, the water-fowl, the swan and the nightingale; operations connected with the raising of paddy; bull-racing; the lotus and the red water-lily; rivers, wells, and ponds.

Pertaining to Neydal are the foodstuffs bartered for fish and salt; bullocks and buffaloes carrying bags of salt; the crocodile and the shark; Funnai (*Alexandria laurel*), ñālai, and Kandal (*screw-pine*); the sea-crow; fishing, salt-manufacture and the sale of fish and salt; the flowers Kaidai (*screw-pine*) and Neydal (*Nympha Alba*); and wells in sandy tracts and salt marshes.

Suited to Pālai are fool-stuffs obtained by highway robbery and pillage; emaciated elephants, tigers and wild dogs; the dried up Irupai trees (*Bassia Longifolia*), the wild mango, the Uññai creeper, ñemai, Pālai (*iron-wood tree*), Kañi (*Spurge*), and Śurai (*calabash*); the eagle, the kite, and the pigeon; highway robbery and plunder; the flowers Marā (*Eugenia Racemosa*), Kurā (*bottle-flower*) and Pādiri (*Signonia Chelonoides*); and wells with scant water. Illustrations of the occurrence of these objects and actions in poetry appropriate to them will be found in plenty in the specimens of poetry given in several succeeding chapters.

Religion.

Man is not only a tool-making, cooking, clothing and talking animal, but also a religious animal. Man alone of all the animals has invented methods of invoking or compelling the help of superhuman beings to avoid the real or imaginary evils that threaten him and to secure the things that he ardently longs for. These

methods consisted of religio-magical rituals, the differentiation between religion, the method of praise and offering, and magic or primitive science, the method of compelling the forces of nature to obey man's behests, belonging to later stages of civilization. This religio-magical ritual comprised ritual feasting (preceded, it may be, by fasting,) ritual singing (choral or solo), and ritual dancing. In later times feasting, singing, dancing and the drama were sequestered from religion and became activities pursued only for immediate pleasure, but this differentiation took a long time to be established. No doubt from the earliest ages of the evolution of man he worshipped some god or gods. In those early days the people were divided into totem-groups, the relics of which are found in tribal names like Irular, Vanniar, etc. In Sanskrit literature we meet with such totem-names as the Vānaras, the monkey tribe, the Ajas, the goat tribe, the Garuḍas, the kite tribe, the Matsyas, the fish tribe, the Vṛṣṇis, the ram tribe, and the Nāgas, the serpent tribe, etc. Of these the Nāgas seem to have been widely prevalent, because we find them in historic times, occupying the North East, the North West, the Central and the South Indian provinces. The Nāga cult probably arose among the cave-dwellers of the hill-country. Besides the totem gods, the people worshipped numerous spirits, those inhabiting trees, rivers, hills; also local gods, guardian deities of villages, the goddesses-guarding the boundaries of villages and the demons that caused diseases. Most of these ancient cults exist today in their primitive crudity among the lower classes of the population and even the higher classes have not totally given up resorting to the help of these spirits in times of difficulty. Some of these cults have also been

absorbed by higher cults which mark a higher stage of civilization. Thus the Nāga cult became coalesced with that of Murugan, who was again identified with Subrahmanya of the Āryas; for even today, Subrahmanya appears to the physical eyes of his devotees only in the form of a serpent; when a devotee of this god has invoked his help, the appearance of a serpent means that the god has granted the prayer. Tree-cults have coalesced with the Śiva cult. The most famous of existing Śiva shrines are intimately associated with some tree or other. So too the cult of the health-giving Tulasi plant has coalesced with the worship of Viṣṇu. From the Nāga cult Śiva got his numerous serpent-ornaments, and Viṣṇu his couch of the thousand-headed serpent. The Buddha became himself a Nāga and several Buddha and Jaina saints got five serpent-heads.

But long before these advanced cults, called Āgamika, arose, higher gods than the local demons or the spirits inhabiting trees, rivers and hills, were evolved in the country. These gods were evolved in each region separately and in accordance with the geographical characteristics of each region. The god of the hilly region was the Red God (Sēyōn), also called Murugan, who was the patron of pre-nuptial love. He was offered by his worshippers balls of rice mixed with the red blood of goats killed in his behalf. He was a hunter and carried the Vēl or spear and was hence called Vēlan, spearman. His priest was also called Vēlan. This god created the love-frenzy in girls; and when girls were obsessed by him, the priest performed magic rites for curing the love-sick girl. When the priest was in communion with the god, he was also seized with the divine frenzy and sang and danced a devil-dance

(*veṇiyāttam*). Women, too, took part in priestly functions. Men or women priests, when under the influence of the god, not only sang and danced, but also read the dim past, predicted the future, diagnosed diseases (and the particular demons that caused each disease), and cured all the ills that the flesh and the brain were heir to. The means of cure were not solely supernatural, for, as the hilly region abounded in simples, the magic of the priests and priestesses was fortified by the use of drugs. Hence the early priest was also the medicine-man and even today, notwithstanding millenniums of philosophical evolution, the devil-priest-cum-medicine-man of the degraded Kuravar tribe drives a flourishing trade among the *élite* of society, on the sly.

The god of the pastoral region—Mullai—was the Black God (*Māyān*), who was a herdsman, beloved both of milkmaids and of cattle. He was always uttering sweet music with the flute (*kūjal*) and its music moved all nature. Besides singing, he delighted in dancing. Surrounded by a crowd of milk-maids, he or his priest danced most complicated dances, as herdsfolk do today. Milk and milk-products, sometimes mixed with boiled rice were his offering. Pastoral life affords more opportunities than a hunter's life for indulging in the delights of love, as it also provides occasions for the temporary parting of lovers, which latter only heightens the pleasure of re-union. The life of the herdsman is the jolliest of all, because, unlike the hunter or the man who sails far out into the sea whose lives are fraught with risks, he does the easy work of leisurely tending cattle in the forest. Hence the Black God of the tenders of cattle is the jolliest of the Indian Gods.

The god of the coastal region was, of course, the dread lord of the sea. The horn of the terrible shark symbolized him in the rituals of his fisherman-worshippers who crowded on the sea coast, black men and women with children on their hips, and offered him fresh or salted fish and meat. The joys of love were not denied to the fisherfolk; for we read in the literature of a later period that noblemen of the surrounding regions were, notwithstanding the fishy smell of the well-grown limbs of these swarthy dames who embellished their persons with the lilies of the marshes, smitten with love for them, and while their menfolk were away, out on the sea, drove in their carts or chariots to the sea-side to visit their paramours.

In the river-valleys where civilization was more advanced than in the other regions, pre-nuptial love gave way to post-nuptial love. The ancient ceremony of marriage which obtained among the Tamils before it was altered by the Aryans is described in two odes of the annology called the Agam. Thus it is said:—"There was a huge heap of rice cooked with pulse (even after many guests had been fed). On the floor of a pandal built on long rows of wooden columns was spread freshly brought sand. House-lamps were lighted. The bride and bridegroom were adorned with flower-garlands. In the beautiful morning of the day of the bent, bright moon, when the stars shed no evil influence, some women carrying pots on the head, others bearing new, broad bowls, handed them one after another, while fair elderly dames were making much noise. Mothers of sons, with bobbies marked with beauty-spots, wearing beautiful ornaments, poured water on the bride, so that her black hair shone bright with

cool petals of flowers and rice-grains (which had been mixed with the water), and at the same time they blessed her, saying 'do not swerve from the path of chastity, be serviceable in various ways to your husband who loves you and live with him as his wife'. On the night after the marriage ceremony was over, the neighbouring ladies assembled, (dressed the bride in new clothes) and sent her to the arms of her lover, to which she went with trepidation¹."

1. உழுத்துலைப் பெய்த கொழுங்களி மிதவை
பெருஞ்சோற் றமலை சிற்ப சிணாகாத்
தண்பெரும் பத்தர்த் தருமணன் னெயிரி
மனைவினக் குறத்து மாலை தொடரிக்
கண்பிடு னகன்ற கலின்பெற காலைக்
கோள்கா விற்கிய கொடுவெண் டுங்கட்
கேடில் விழுப்புசுழ் காடலை வந்தென
வுசலிக் குடத்தர் புத்தகன் மண்டையர்
பொறுசெய் சும்பலை முதுசெய் பெண்டிர்
முன்னடும் பின்னவு முறைமுறை தாத்தர்ப்
புதல்வற் பயர்த திதலையல் வயிற்று
யாலிழை மகளிர் கால்வர் கடிக்
கற்பினின் வழாஅ கற்பல வுதலிப்
பெற்றோற் பெட்கும் பிணையை யாகென
கொடு சொரித்த வீரித முலரி
பல்லிசும் சுதுப்பி னெல்லொடு தயங்க
வறுவை கன்மணங் கழித்த பின்னைக்
கல்வென் சும்மையர் னெரோனெனப் புருதத்து
பேரிற் கிழத்தி யாகெனத் தமர்தர
வொரிற் கடைய புடன்புணர் கங்குற்
கொடும்புறம் வளைஇக் கேகடிக் கலிங்கத்
தொடுங்கினன்.

It will be noticed that in this ancient Tamil rite of marriage there is absolutely nothing Aryan, no lighting of fire, no circumambulation of fire, and no priest to receive daksinā. Another ode in the same anthology refers also to the wedding-rite. "White rice, well cooked and with plenty of ghi, was served to the elders with stintless generosity. The omens shown by the birds were propitious. The broad sky shone bright. The moon was in faultless conjunction with the Pōhiṇi asterism. The marriage-house was decked. They worshipped God. The big drums resounded with wedding tunes. Excited women were peeping winklessly with their flower-like eyes at the bride who had been bathed (and decorated). The image (to be worshipped) made of big flower-petals, clear like a gem that has been well-washed, was placed on the soft vagai flower with the double leaf whose back-side is bright, and the arugai grass which grows in low land when the roaring clouds pour the first rain and which is eaten by calves. It was decked with cool, sweet flower-buds and white thread, clothed with holy cloth, so as to look grand. The bride (was seated) under a pandal, on the floor of which sand was strewn, looking as if rain-drops had fallen. She was perspiring with her load of ornaments. (They fanned her) to dry the wet. Then her relatives gave her away."²

2. கைப்புறப் புழுத்தி செய்க்கனி வெண்ணோற
வரையா வண்மைபொடு புனையோர்ப் பேணிப்
புன்ருப்புணர்ச் சிறிய வாகத் தென்னொளி
யங்க ணிருவிசம்பு விளங்கத் திங்கட்
சகடம் மேண்டிய துகடர் கட்டத்தாக்
கடாகர் புணைந்து கடவுட் பேணிப்
படுமண முழுவொடு பருஉப்பிண யிழிந்
வதுவை மண்ணிய மகளிர் விதுப்புறந்

These two poems belong to a later period than we are considering, but certainly describe the wedding rites which prevailed in very old times.

Married life, though commenced under such auspices, often did not run an even course. Post-nuptial love was often put to a temporary or permanent end by the wiles of harlots who seduced husbands from the path of faithfulness to the wedded wife. The institution of harlotry (*parattamai*) was peculiar to the agricultural tracts, for during the periods of enforced idleness when the grain is ripening in the fields and when the field is lying fallow after harvest, Satan finds some mischief for idle hands to do. The God of this region is the cloud-compeller, he who breaks with his thunderbolt (a tool of stone, like the ancient spear-head of *Murugan*) the rain-bearing clouds when the lands pant with thirst in summer. He is a lascivious god, surrounded by divine harlots, just as his devotees were by mortal ones. The favourite offering to this God was rice cooked with pulses (called in Tamil *pongal*.) This feast is still the most popular feast in the agricultural tracts, being the harvest-festival

பூக்கணு மிமைமார் கோக்குபு மறைப
மென்பு வானைப் புண்புநத் தவட்டினை
பழங்கன்ற கறிக்கும் பயம்பம னெனைத்
தழங்குநால் வானின் நிலைப்பெயற் கேந்த
மண்ணுமணி யன்ன மாயிதழ்ப் பாவைத்
தண்ணறு முகையொடு வெண்ணால் சூட்டித்
தாயுடைப் பொலிந்து மேவாத் துவன்றி
மழைபட் டன்ன மணன்மலி பந்த
நிழையணி தெப்பித் பெயர்வியப் பற்றித்
தமர்மம் செத்த.

Agam. 116. II. 1—18.

The last of the regions was Pālai, the desert, the home of the marauder. Like the adjacent hilly tracts it was the region where the matriarchate persisted for a long period; and hence the divinity of this region was the goddess of victory (Korravai) and her devotees, the Maṇavar, men of cruel deeds, offered her bloody sacrifices—human and animal. Pālai was the bleak land, appropriately associated with the tragedy of love, that is, the long parting of the lovers, when the hero goes out in search of fortune to lay at the feet of the beloved and has to travel along sandy paths covered with the bleaching bones of the dead. Korravai was worshipped with wild drunken revelry as may well be imagined.

Four of these five gods are enumerated by Tolkāppiyānār. "The world of forests desired by Māyōn (the black god), the world of hills desired by Sēyōn (the red god), the world of sweet waters desired by the King (of gods) and the world of wide sand desired by Varuṇan, are respectively called Mullai, Kuṇṇi, Marudam and Noydal.* It will be noticed that Tolkāppiyānār identifies the old Tamil gods with the corresponding Aryan ones and calls the god of the valleys the king, because he was to the Aryans the king of Svarga and gives to the sea-god the Sanskrit name of Varuṇan. The ancient Tamil names of the two latter are not recoverable; they may

* மாயோன் மேய காடுகளை யுலகமுந்
சேயோன் மேய னாவகை யுலகமுந்
மேந்தன் மேய நீம்புன னுலகமுந்
வருணன் மேய பெருமண னுலகமுந்
முயிலை குறிஞ்சி மருத கெய்தலெனச்
சொல்லிய முறையாற் சொல்லவும் படுமே.

have been *Saṅgān* and *Kaḍaṅgān*. *Tolkāppiyānār* does not name the goddess of the desert, because he omits the *Pālai* from the list of permanently inhabited regions.

The five Tribes in Northern India :

These five kinds of human culture must have developed in Northern India as well as in Southern India in early times, i.e. before the rise of the Vedas and of the fire-cult for use in which the Vedic mantras were composed. The northern *Dasyus* must have been divided into the same five tribes as the Southern *Dasyus*, before the cult of the *Āryas* was born. North India is divisible into the same five natural regions as South India, but only the regions are larger in size than the southern regions. The same geographical causes operated there and must have led to the same results. Pre-Aryan life in Northern India, then, must have been the same as in South India. But, perhaps about 4,000 B.C., arose in North India, the fire-cult, which was an expression of the belief that fire was the mouth of the gods, and that therefore all offerings to the gods ought to be put into the blazing mouth of the fire-god. This cult was called the *Ārya* cult and the old-fashioned people who stuck to the fireless ways of worship were called *Dasyus*. The followers of the fire-cult adopted the fashion of accompanying their offerings to gods with mantras in Sanskrit composed by the poet-soers called *Ṛṣis*. How or whence the Sanskrit language came and who the *Ṛṣis* were, it is impossible to find out. The only fact that we know is that Sanskrit is in vocabulary and structure allied to languages which have spread throughout a large part of Western Asia, Europe and America. Based on this fact and inspired by a supreme ignorance of the difference between race and language has been conceived the theory of the Aryan

invasion of the world, which Anthropology has set its face against. But we are here concerned only with the question how the rise of the Ārya cult altered the life of the people who lived in India before this cult began.

The Northern Dasys must have been worshipping regional gods, like their Tamil bretheren in that remote epoch. Did the Ārya fire-cult adopt these regional gods and worship them in the new way? This is not the place to discuss this question, but it may be pointed out that when many millenniums after this remote age the Aryan cults migrated to South India, the regional gods of South India were identified with the Aryan gods similar to them in function, the red god with Subrahmanya, the black god with Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, the sea-god with Varuṇa, the sky-god with Indra and the desert-goddess with Durgā. Whether these Aryan gods were themselves the reincarnations of older Dasyu Gods and whether the supremacy of Indra among them during the Vedic Age was the result of riverine folk obtaining supremacy over the tribes of other regions cannot be taken up for discussion here.

One Vedic phrase seems reminiscent of the division of the people into five regional tribes, and that is *pañca-janāḥ*. This mysterious phrase has been attempted to be explained by various writers, ancient or modern, but by none satisfactorily. I have made the conjecture that it must refer to the five tribes of pre-Aryan times, but scholars who know nothing of Tamil literature and who refuse to consider the necessity of the historical continuity between pre-Aryan India and Aryan India have been unable to appreciate the value of this conjecture.

† Vide my *Stone Age in India*, pp. 28-29.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BHĀRATA BATTLE.

The Rise of Tamil Dynasties :

A probable political consequence of the pacification of South India by Rāma was, we may presume, the rise of the three great royal dynasties of Sōla, Sēra and Pāṇḍya. Though these names occur in the Rāmāyaṇa it is certain that the dynasties could not have flourished in the ages when the three Rāvanas that are mentioned in the Puranas ruled. These Rāvanas apparently wielded unrestricted sway all over South India. Janasthāna on the banks of the Gōdāvarī was one of the outposts of the latest Rāvana. His subjects swarmed all south of the Vindhya and stray bodies of them frequently entered Āryāvartta, within the boundaries of his realm it was not possible for other dynasties to rule. The three tribes, Sōlas, Sēras and Pāṇḍyas perhaps existed at the time, but the royal dynasties that rose out of them did not. Later South Indian tradition makes them rule 'from the beginning of creation.' This phrase means really 'from time immemorial'; in other words 'nothing is known about the origin of the three dynasties.' These newly risen Sōla, Sēra and Pāṇḍya Rājas kept up the age-long intercourse of South India with North India. After Rāma's death, the predominance of Ayodhyā in the politics of Āryāvartta came to an end. A few generations later, Kuru raised the Paurava realm to eminence and Kuruksetra became the metropolis of

India. Among the descendants of Kuru arose dissensions and other jealousies developed among the many princes of India, which culminated in the Mahābhārata war, about fifteen generations¹ after Rāma's time. By this time the three South Indian dynasties had developed relations, peaceful and otherwise, with the Northern kings, as is proved by the statements in the Mahābhārata.

The make up of the Mahābhārata :

Before utilising the evidence of the Great Epic, it should be remembered that this work is a composite poem. Its contents may be divided into the following parts :—

(1) Tales of the lives of the heroes of the war and of the battle itself. These, I take it, form the core of the poem and existed probably as ballads from the time of the war and were recited in consolidated form by Śaunaka on the occasion of the great sacrifice in Naimisaranya during the reign of Adhisimakṣa, the sixth in generation from Arjuna in the Paurava line. The ancient historical ballads were constantly kept in the memory of people by this practice of reciting them during sacrifices. The portion of the Mahābhārata dealing with the life of the heroes may be used as evidence for the existence in the time of the war (c.1400 B.C.), of the men, and the occurrence of the events, mentioned in them.

(2) Purāṇa Tales, stories of kings and their genealogy from the foundations of the Solar and Lunar dynasties which, I think, took place about 3,000 B.C.

¹ Sita Nath Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India*, p.109. Pargiter makes it out to be twenty generations. *Anc. Ind. Hist. Tradition* pp.148-9.

down to the period of the Great War. In these tales there is some intrusion of mythological matter, which can be easily differentiated from the historical material, as has to be done in the case of all ancient sources of history, not excluding Herodotus. This historical material has got to be compared with the same found in the Vedas, the Rāmāyana and the Purāṇas. These are derived from the historical ballads recited by court bards from time immemorial, and if critically investigated, are very useful for reconstructing Ancient Indian History, as Mr. Pargiter and Mr. Sita Nath Pradhan have done successfully. Such Purāṇa tales in the Mahābhārata can be used as evidence with regard to the period before the Mahābhārata War. They found their way into the poem long after the war.

(3) Tales of Viṣṇu and Śiva, other than those belonging to the Vedas. These were evolved in the Āgama schools, which rose to prominence in the period succeeding the Bhārata battle. The Āgamas in those days were mainly two—the Bhāgavata and the Māheśvara. The former dealt with the worship of Viṣṇu and the latter, of Śiva. In the Āgama schools were evolved methods of worshipping Viṣṇu or Śiva or their symbols, tales of Viṣṇu's incarnations and Śiva's appearances among men, special forms of yoga-practices followed by the Ekāntis and Śiva-yogis, and the philosophical analysis of man, the microcosm and the universe, the macrocosm, into several principles developed from the categories of Sāṅkhya philosophy.

These Āgama teachings were incorporated in an unsystematic form into the Mahābhārata probably some centuries after 1,000 B.C.

(4) *Artha Sāstras*, *Dharma Sāstras* and *Mokṣa Sāstras*. These were ancient treatises on these subjects which were in danger of extinction and acquired a new lease of life by being welded into the Epic and woven into its story as dialogues of its actors. The treatises were more or less amorphous and not like the finished products of later times.

(5) Accounts of various philosophical systems such as the *Vedānta*, i.e., the teachings of the last chapters of the *Vedas*, appropriately called the *Vedaśātras*, i.e., the *Upaniṣads*, the *Nyāya*, the *Vaiśeṣika* and above all the *Sāṅkhya* and the *Yoga* and the developments of the theories of the two latter systems in the *Āgamas*. Of the last class, the greatest specimen is the *Bhagavad Gītā* which was the philosophy of the school of the *Bhāgavatas* and in which the greatest teacher that the world has seen has joined into one, or rather transcended the divergent teachings of, the *Vedānta* and the *Sāṅkhya* and has occupied a standpoint far beyond the limited ones from which all other teachers viewed the world and tried to comprehend it.

(6) Geographical chapters. These refer to different localities in India, especially those to which pilgrims in search of holiness travelled.

These latter parts of the *Mahābhārata* got into the poem from c. 1,000 B.C. to 500 B.C. and led to the Epic being regarded as the fifth *Veda*.

South India and the War :

In the story of the war, which is the heart of the *Mahābhārata*, there is evidence that there were political relations between South India and North India. Thus

a Pāṇḍya king was one of those who were present at the Swayamvara of Draupadī.² Among the 'divine feats'³ of Kṛṣṇa narrated by Yudhiṣṭhira, occurs his defeat of the Pāṇḍya Rāja, when the gates of the Pāṇḍyas were broken⁴ and was slain the father of Sārṅgadhvaja⁵, who afterwards took part in the war on the side of the Pāṇḍyas, Kṛṣṇa also fought with the Coḷas⁶. When Yudhiṣṭhira began to celebrate the Rājāsūya, it was necessary, as a preliminary, to assert his suzerainty over all India by peaceful or warlike means. Sahadeva proceeded on a digvijaya to the south and vanquished the Draviḍas, Coḷas, Keraḷas and Pāṇḍyas. The Coḷas and the Draviḍas as well as the Āndhras were present at the Rājāsūya⁷. The Coḷa and the Pāṇḍya brought presents to Yudhiṣṭhira⁸. When the great war broke out, the Pāṇḍya Rāja, Sārṅgadhvaja, son of the king who was defeated by Kṛṣṇa, came with

² MBh. i. 189. 7020.

³ divyāni karmāṇi.

⁴ Ib. vii 11. 398, vii. 23. 1016. In the latter passage occurs the phrase bhinnā kapāṭe pāṇḍyānām. Kapāṭa here certainly means 'gate'; hence probably the kapāṭa of the Rāmāyaṇa already referred to (p. 53 supra) also means 'gate' and not the city of Kapāṭapura, as explained by the South Indian commentator.

⁵ possibly this name was a translation of மரன் கொடியன்.

⁶ MBh. vii. 11. 321.

⁷ MBh. ii. 31. 1173-4, also 1121.

⁸ Ib. ii. 34. 1288

⁹ Ib. Ib. 52. 1293

troops to Yudhiṣṭhira¹⁰. The Kuruas and the Coḷas, too fought on the side of the Pāṇḍavas¹¹. The Pāṇḍya king proceeded against Droṇa and was slain by Akṣatthāmā¹².

Arjuna went on a tour of pilgrimage (tīrthayātrā) soon after it was arranged that the newly wedded wife of the Pāṇḍavas should live with each brother for a year, beginning with Yudhiṣṭhira. In that tour he married Citrāngadā, the only child of Citravāhana, ruler of Maṇipura¹³. This place is called Maṇalūr in the South Indian recension of the Great Epic and Maṇalūr is certainly a Tamil name. In another place¹⁴ this wife of Arjuna's is spoken of as a Pāṇḍava princess. Just before marrying Citrāngadā, Arjuna married a Nāga lady of the name of Ulāpī¹⁵. The r... which Arjuna visited in his pilgrimage are me... without any regard to geographical sequence... as confused a manner as Sugrīva directed his son... to go in search of Sita. Probably this Ulāpī belonged to a land near the Pāṇḍya country, though she is made to appear suddenly before Arjuna on the banks of the Ganges.

¹⁰. MBh. v. 12. 476, vi. 50. 2084. Other recensions give this name as Sāgaradhvaṇa

¹¹. Ib. viii. 23. 455. 1893.

¹². Ib. vi. 23. 1019, viii. 21. 81.

¹³ Ib. vii. 11. 398-6. Ib. I. 215. 7836. Maṇi acquired in Tamil the meaning of sapphire and 'sapphire-town' is a good name for a Pāṇḍya capital, for we often hear in old Sanskrit literature and in early inscriptions like that of Khāravela, of the sapphire (maṇi) of the Pāṇḍya country.

¹⁴ Ādī Par. vi. 1. 64 (Kumb. ed.)

¹⁵ MBh. i. 214. 7810.

A digression on the Nāgas :

The Puranas make the Nāgas live in Pātāla and Pātāla may mean any country far from the heart of Āryāvarta. There are Nāgas to day in the North-East India: the Nāgas of Takṣaṣilā in the North-West were responsible for the death of Parikṣit; there were Nāgas in South India as is evidenced by the names Nāgapattinam, Nāgūr etc. The Nāga cult *i.e.*, the exclusive worship of the serpent, originally arose probably in the hilly tracts which man inhabited early in the course of his evolution: it was widely prevalent in old times throughout the world and the Nāgas lived everywhere in India in old times. We do not know the reasons which influenced the minds of the ancient tribes when they selected various objects as their totems; but we can well understand why the serpent which deals swift death was worshipped throughout the world. The imitation of the habits of the totem gods by their worshippers is well-known to students of the ways of the savage men: and the analogy of the ancient cave-dweller creeping into a cave for shelter and the serpent crawling into his nest much have filled savage minds with a sense of devotion to their god.¹⁶

After the cults of Śiva and Viṣṇu arose, several people remained primarily Nāga-worshippers without joining these other cults and were therefore distinguished from the rest of the population by being specially called

¹⁶ Even to-day certain Śaiva devotees utter inarticulate cries like that of the bull, the first devotee of Śiva, in the hope that they would please the Nandi by imitating him and thus secure a powerful intermediary between them and their God.

Nāgas. In South India Malabar was the headquarters of the Nāgas. Below I refer to two indications from the Bauddha Jātaka that this was so. In the Pattupāṭṭu which belongs to the latter half of the first half of the first millennium after Christ, there is landed a prince called Tiraiyan who was brought to the shore by the waves of the sea¹⁷. The commentator explains this by referring to a legend that a Sōla Chief of Nāgapattinam went to pātūla and there fell in love with a Nāga lady and she sent to him the child of their union floating on the waves (tirai) of the sea¹⁸. This shows that the Tamils communicated with the Nāga world by sea, probably skirting the South coast of India. In the Maṇimālai, a poem belonging to an age later than that of the Pattupāṭṭu, is told the story of another Sōla, this time a ruler of Kāvīrīpattinam, called Neḍumdiḱkīlī, who fell in love with a Nāga lady whom he chanced to meet in a grove near his capital. She disappeared after a month¹⁹. After sometime she sent the son born to them in a ship belonging to one Kambāla Ṣeṭṭi, but the ship was wrecked near the coast²⁰. When the Sōla king heard of this shipwreck, he went about searching for the child and forgot to perform the annual Indra-feast and hence the city was destroyed by the waves. These legends indicate that communication was maintained from the East coast to the Nāga land by sea.

¹⁷ அந்தத் திரைதருமரபின். Perumbānarruppaṭai, II. 30-31.

¹⁸ Pattupāṭṭu p. 153.

¹⁹ Maṇimālai xxiv, II. 39-43.

²⁰ Ib. xxv II. 178-192. The Kambālas and the Assataras were tribes according to the Bhāridatta Jātaka No. 543.

The speech of the Nāgas was not Tamil, but it was not impossible for a Tamil man to master it. The man that had mastered the language was a *ṣetti* called *Sāduvan* who wanted to trade with *Vaṅga*, but his ship was caught in a storm and was driven to the shores of the naked nomads, the Nāgas, from whose hands he was able to escape owing to his mastery of their language; ²¹ he returned laden with presents of sandalwood, thin cloth and jewels. The natural inference from those facts is that in South India the Nāga land was what we now call Malabar. Malabar is still the part of India where Nāga worship prevails on a large scale. The word 'Nāyar', the name of the principal tribe of Malabar, has perhaps to be derived for Nāgar. Moreover, we may suppose that the ancient Nāgas of South India grew, like other ancient South Indians, a whole head of hair and, I believe that as the imitation even of gods is the sincerest form of flattery, the worshippers of the serpent combed their hair, gathered it up to the top of the head and knotted it so that the knot stood up, making the face of the worshipper look like the expanded hood of a cobra. I have seen men in South India whose head is dressed in this style and I guess that the ancient Nāgas tried to make their head look like that of their god. This perhaps explains why when shaving was introduced among such people, the top knot was left intact, because wearing it was too old, and hence too sacred, a custom to be given up. As the Nairs have kept up this style of hair-dressing to this day, they are probably the modern representatives of the ancient Nāgas. I also take it

²¹. அவர் பாண்ட மயக்கற மரபிற்

செந்தன ஞானலிங்க.

Man xvi ll. 60-61

that the Nambūdiris were the Nāgas who first accepted the Aryan cult from the physical or spiritual descendants of Pāraśurāma.

That the Nambūdiris of Malabar form the earliest stratum of South Indian Brāhmaṇas is proved by the following facts taken from an article by K. Ramavarma Raja:—²²

(1) Most of the Yajurvedīs among them belong to the early Sūtras of Baudhāyana and Bādūlaka.

(2) Only the first three Vedas are current among them. Thus they must have arisen before the Atharva Veda Samhitā was included in the list of Vedas, i. e. long before the age of Veda Vyāsa.

(3) Not more than one sacred thread is ever worn at the same time. The wearing of two or more threads is a later custom.

(4) They retain the Vedic customs of post-puberty marriage and consummation on the fourth day.

(5) Śrāddhas are performed on the day of the Nakṣatram under which the man died and not on the tithi of his death.

Therefore the claim of the Nambūdiris that Pāraśurāma was their first preceptor is not absurd on the face of it.

From this discussion we may conclude that Ulūpi whom Arjuna took to wife temporarily was a Malabar lass.

The Āgastyas:

Before the age of the Mahābhārata, the Āgastyas must have spread to the extreme South of the peninsula. In the Epic, as in the Purāṇas, all the Āgastyas, are spo-

²². J. R. A. S. 1910. pp. 625-639.

ken of as one Agastya Rsi, though different Agastyas resided in different places at different times. Thus the Mahābhārata refers to the old Agastya āśramam at Pāñchavati ²²; it also speaks of another Agastya hermitage, at Saubhadra on the ocean ²³; there is besides an "Agastya Tīrtham among the Pāṇḍyas", one of the five nārītīrthas ²⁴. Perhaps this last refers to the Pāpanāsām falls, in the Tinevelly district, the waters of which are believed to take their rise from the Podiya hill, where according to Tamil tradition Agastya fixed his permanent abode after coming to the Tamil country.

In the list of the Nārītīrthas occurs the first mention of the sea at the Cape Comorin, as a sacred bathing place, called the Kumārī-tīrtha, in the country of the Pāṇḍyas. ²⁵

This tīrtha is also called Kanyā tīrtha. Thus the legend of Kumārī waiting for Śiva at the southernmost corner of India had been evolved in this age; but the Tamils had nothing to do with this legend or with the idea of Cape Comorin being a holy spot, for there is no Tamil name for the Cape. Thus from the evidence of the Great Epic we can safely conclude that there was very intimate intercourse between the Northern Āryas and the Tamils in the age of the Mahābhārata War.

²² M Bh. iii, 99, 8633.

²³ M Bh. i, 21546, 217, 7577.

²⁴ M Bh. iii, 58, 8339, iii, 118, 10267.

All the references to the Mahābhārata are from Sorenson's Index.

CHAPTER VII

FOREIGN TRADE IN THE II MILLENNIUM B.C.

Increase of Foreign Trade :

The *Mahābhārata* mentions non-Indian tribes as having contributed contingents to the contending armies, such as ¹Cīnas, Yavanas², etc. There is nothing intrinsically absurd in this statement, which implies that there were political relations between North Indian kings and those of centuries outside India in the age of the *Mahābhārata*. Whether this was true or no, there is some evidence that the commercial relations which existed between South India on the one hand and Babylonia, Arabia and Egypt on the other, in the Vedic Age, flourished in the II millennium B.C. The Nordic tribes of the Northern Steppe regions, or to use Tamil technical terms, the Āryas of the great Northern Mullai region, who, as I hold contrary to current ethnological theories, had nothing to do with the Āryas of India, migrated westward in about 2,000 B.C., and destroyed the old land-trade from Khotan to the East Mediterranean coast and cut off the ancient trade in jade-stone between China and one of the earlier towns of Troy. The tide of trade thus dammed in the North bent South and led to a further development of the sea-trade of India in general and South India in particular.

¹ Cīnas fought in the contingent of Bhagadatta of Prāgyotiṣa. MBh. v. 18. 584.

² Ib. ii. 50. 18 321.

Trade with Egypt:

"There are numerous records of the receipt of ivory in commerce and as tribute under the XVII dynasty (1580-1350 B.C.), . . . also articles made of ivory: chairs, tables, chests, statues, and whips."² These come from various places, among which was Punt (Somaliland), the great entrepot of trade between Egypt and India in those days: this indicates that, as in earlier times, ivory and ivory articles went from the west coast of India to the Nile valley.

Under the XVIII or Theban dynasty great Egyptian fleets were sent to Punt "which brought back great store of myrrh, ebony and ivory, gold, cinnamon, incense, eye-paint, apes, monkeys, dogs, panther-skins," etc. From Syria, too, were annually remitted "great quantitles of Arabic and Eastern treasure—incense, oil, grain, wine, gold and silver, precious stones" and from Babylon, lapis lazuli. "In the XX dynasty, under Rameses III (1198-1167 B.C.), it seemed as if the resources of the nation were poured into the lap of Amon. . . . And in the Papyrus Harris, that great record of his gifts and endowments to Amon, compiled for his tomb, there are such entries every year as 'gold, silver, lapis lazuli, malachite, precious stones, copper, garment of royal linen, . . . cinnamon 246 measures. (The quotations are from Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*)."³ Of the articles mentioned in the above quotations, ebony has already been shown to have probably gone from South India. The precious stones (including lapis lazuli) will be shown to have

² Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 61.

³ *Ib.* pp. 121-122.

been imported in later times from India by western countries; this trade most probably began during the days of great prosperity under the XVIII dynasty, when all the countries which had trade relations with Egypt were scoured for offerings to Amon. "Goodechild says, the sapphire [which they called lapis lazuli] has been known from very remote times by the Egyptians, and to a lesser extent by the Assyrians. Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, says the Tables of the Law given to Moses were inscribed on lapis lazuli."⁴ The garments of royal linen were of Indian muslin, because linen being then manufactured in Egypt itself, the imported article must have been superior cotton cloth which in those days, as later, India alone could supply. As regards the apes, monkeys, dogs and panther skins, there is some probability that a part, if not the whole of these imports, was from India, for half-a-millennium later, as will be pointed out in Chapter X, just these articles and allied ones were sent from India to western countries. With regard to cinnamon, it may be pointed out that "the Egyptian inscriptions of Queen Hatshepsut's expedition in the XV Century B.C., mention cinnamon wood as 'one of the marvels of the Country of Punt,' which were brought back to Egypt."⁵ But cinnamon was not produced in Punt at all; it was taken thither from Indian ports by Arabian merchants, who concealed from the Western people the fact of its Indian origin for keeping the monopoly of its trade in their hands. The cinnamon grew in Malabar and China but the Arabian merchants who took it to the western countries caused false stories

⁴ Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 171.

⁵ *Ib.* p. 82.

about its African origin to grow up. Pliny has a "passage instructive in its vagueness. With reference to a kind of cinnamon in his time much in favour, he says that the king of the Arabians called Gebbanitæ, whose capital was Thomna, once had the sole right of control, regulating sales by edict; the price of the juice had been as much as one thousand denarii, and even fifteen hundred denarii a pound, through the burning of the plantations at the hands of wild men, whether by malicious acts of those in power, or by mere chance, it was not certain. Some of Pliny's authorities accounted for such a disaster by the explanation that the south winds blew so strongly as to kindle the plantations. Here we have two points to note—firstly, strict control of cinnamon trade by an Arabian ruler, and secondly a false explanation to account for a failure in supplies by alleging a local cause instead of a real one, which might be for instance some disastrous storm experienced during the voyage from Indian regions. But a truthful explanation such as this could not be given to western merchants without revealing the true source of cinnamon. The Arabians would be capable, we may be sure, of holding back supplies and accounting for the lack by giving some false but plausible explanation merely with the object of inducing the Greeks to pay a still higher price than was usual for a spice in great demand among the wealthy. Bengalese, Coromandel, Malabar and North-west Indian shipping must have brought most of it from China and India to the Arabians frequenting the marts of West India or West Africa." This proves that the remarks of Greek and Latin writers about the origin of the articles they write

* Warmington, *op. cit.* pp. 192-3.

about should not be taken at their face-value and that the Egyptians of the II Millennium B.C. got Chinese and Indian cinnamon taken on Indian ships to Aden or the Somali coast and therefore, that cinnamon was not "one of the marvels of the country of Punt," as the Egyptians believed and as the Greek traders of later times thought.

Among the 'Eastern treasure,' mentioned above as supplied from Punt to Egypt we notice 'oil' and 'grains.' The oil was the gingelly oil which, we know from the *Periplus*, was regularly exported from India in later times. 'Anointment' was a ceremony undergone by kings and priests and the oil was also required for making unguents with. In Egypt and Syria there were manufactories where these unguents were prepared. The 'grains' probably included rice, the great sorghum and the spiked millet.

The expedition of Queen Hatshepsut also brought ebony from the land of Punt. Punt being the land to which Indian goods were systematically taken from India, there is much likelihood that the Queen got the excellent Indian ebony from Malabar forests.*

Trade with Palestine :

A little before the end of the second millennium B.C. the Hebrews ended their servitude in Egypt and migrated to Palestine and among them 'sweet spices' were counted holy. On the rise of Israel's prosperity trade became important. So we learn that cinnamon, brought by Arabian merchants from India, became one of the ingredients of the sacred anointing oil of the Hebrew priests (*Exod. XXX*). It has already been mentioned that the sapphire was also procured from

* Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 153.

India; and we may safely conclude that all the articles that Egypt got from India were also imported into Palestine.

Trade with China:

If Chinese cinnamon found its way to the coasts of Arabia and East Africa in Indian shipping it follows that there must have commercial intercourse between China and India in the II millennium B. C. There exists few written records of this trade. The Mahābhārata mentions silk from China among the tributes received by Yudhishthira.⁹ "Chinese annals mention voyages to Malacca prior to the Christian era and probably as early as the XII century B. C."¹⁰ Hence Malaya was the entrepot of this trade. One article in daily use in the Tamil country, the betel leaf, though eaten profusely by the Tamils, was not originally a native of India; it has no proper name in Tamil but is called by the artificial name of *veṇṇilai*, 'the, mere leaf',¹¹ being the only leaf eaten as leaf, without being cooked; in other Indian languages, too, it is called 'the leaf', showing it was given this name on its introduction most probably from Malaya.¹² Kings and nobles were always attended upon by a valet, called

⁹ *Cīna samudbhavan aurnam*. MBh, II, 51, 1843.

¹⁰ Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 246.

¹¹ For a discussion on the evidential value of names divided into 'Symbolic' and 'Causal', *iḍukuri* and *kāraṇapṇeyar*, in Tamil grammars, vide my *Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture*, pp. 13-16.

¹² The earliest certain reference to the habit of the eating of the betel leaf is found in *Silappadigāram* xvi. 55 (which was composed probably in the V. or VI century A.D.), where Kannagi gave her husband who had

அடம்பைக்காரன், the Betel-leaf-bag-holder. Such valets are called pūṣavar, பாசவர் men with pūṣu, the green leaf, and were one of the eight personal attendants of a King, called eṇṇārāyam எண்பேராயம், 'the group of eight.'

But the chief trade with China was in silk and sugar which were originally made in that country and thence imported to India. Their Tamil names are but metaphorical extensions of the names of other articles. Thus paṭṭu originally meant a fold, a cloth folded many times and worn on the shoulders; as silk cloth was so worn, the name was extended to it. Silk was also called sīnam, that which came from China. Šarkkarai, a word borrowed from Sanskrit, originally meant sand; the name was extended to sugar because its grains look like those of sand. Akkāram originally meant the sugar-cane and the name was metonymically extended to the sugar-cane products, jaggery and sugar. Sugar was also called sīni, the product of China. Silk and sugar were originally exchanged for incense, red coral, costus and pepper. South Indians also acted as intermediaries of trade between China and western Asia. Its usual route was via Khotan but when as frequently happened, that route was interrupted by incursions of Turki tribes, the path of trade was turned south and the Tamil ports became the meeting points of the trade between the West and the East of Asia.

just dined rolls of betel-leaf (taraiyal) with areca nuts (aṭṭaikkāṭi) to chew, அம்மென்றிரையலையோடடைக்காவித்த. The tiny bag stitched in various folds to hold the betel, areca nut, chunam etc., so largely used now, existed also in early times and was called aṭṭaippai, the bag for nuts. In the Silappadigāram xvi, 128 a betel-leaf box made of gold தமனிசிய அடம்பை, is mentioned.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RISE OF THE ĀGAMAS.

The Āgamas vs. The Vedas :

Nearly thirty years ago, I pointed out in my *Outlines of Indian philosophy* that the religion that is practised to-day by the Hindus is almost entirely based on the Āgamas and has little or nothing to do with the Vedas. The *vaidika* cult began to decay after the war of the *Mahābhārata* and has to-day almost died out. The greater part of the *Śrauta* karma is entirely gone; only a few elementary rites, such as *Agnī Īdhāna*, a much-simplified *Vājapeya*, *Garuḍa caryā*, and *Somayāga* are sporadically performed by a handful of people. The *Smārta* karma is also fast dying out, so that judged by the rule that the family of a *Brāhmaṇa* whose members have neglected to tend the holy fire for three generations loses its *Brāhmaṇa* status, extremely few families can be regarded as true *Brāhmaṇa* ones. Yet India is intensely religious; but this intensity of religion is confined to the cults of the Āgamas and not to those of the Vedas. The distinction between the Āgamas¹

¹ In speaking of the Āgama I am not unaware of the fact that one of the meanings of the word is *āptavacana*, the testimony of those who know, and thence another meaning of the word Āgama was evolved: as the greatest of *āptavacana* is the Veda, the Veda is sometimes called the Āgama. Literally the word *āgama* means that which has come from the past. But yet the Āgama is technically the name

and the Vedas, was well-understood in ancient days, when the Āgamika cults were the rivals of the Vaidika cults; but as the two have now become amalgamated for several centuries, the distinction between them is not realized by moderns, all the more so as the theory is now prevalent that the Āgamas are ultimately derived from the Vedas and do but contain amplifications of the Vedic teaching or rather adaptations of them to suit the modern age. The Vedas, after the end of the age of the composition of the Mantras, came to be regarded as *apauruṣeya*, not made even by *Īśvara*, who after all is but a *Puruṣa* above the limitations of time and space. But the Āgamas (Śaiva, Śākta, Vaiṣṇava) only claimed to have emanated from the lips of Śiva or Viṣṇu and are therefore technically *pauruṣeya*.

of the Tantras, the books dealing with the worship of Śiva, Viṣṇu and Śakti and, in this sense, the Āgama cults are opposed to the Vedas. The scriptures of the Bauddhas and the Jainas are also called Āgamas, because they too have come down from the past. All these Āgamas, in their inception, were opposed to the Vedas, i. e. the Karma Kāṇḍa. The Śaiva Āgama school was also called the *Māheśvara* and the *Pāśupata*. The Vaiṣṇava Āgamas were also called the *Bhāgavata* (i. e. relating to the Lord, *Sāttavata* (possibly because the *Sāttavata* royal dynasty first patronised them) and the *Pāñcarātra*. This latter word has another meaning too. It also means a special ritual of the worship of Viṣṇu images and is, in this sense, contrasted with the ritual followed by the *Vaikhāṇasas*. Besides this particular use of the word *Vaikhāṇasa*, as the name of a particular ritual, the word also refers to forest-dwelling *Sanyāsis* generally.

The contents of the Vedic Samhitā are all mantras, intended to be recited during the Vaidika rites, but the Āgamas are text-books containing a description of the rites of Śiva or Viṣṇu worship, of Yoga practices and philosophical analyses. The Vedas—both the Mantra-portion and the Brāhmaṇa-portion—or to refer to a different sub-division, Karma Kāṇḍa and the Jñāna Kāṇḍa, or the Veda and the Veda Śāstras, require a Mīmāṃsā but the Āgamas, being systematic text-books require, if at all, only a commentary. The Vedas are in the early dialect called Oandas, whereas the Āgamas are in the Bhāṣa, which began to prevail after c. 1000 A. D. So much with regard to the Scriptures. Now with regard to the rites. The Vaidika rites are fire rites. For each rite a fire has to be lighted and intensified into a flame and on the flame the oblations have to be poured. The Āgamika rites are fire-less; the oblations have to be merely exhibited to the object of worship and then taken away. In the former the oblation is consumed by the gods, because it is thrown on fire; in the latter, the worshipper loses nothing of his offering because the god can take up only the subtle and unseen parts, so the worshipper consumes it himself and distributes it to his relations and friends. In the Vaidika rites a series of gods are invoked, each of whom has a separate function in the scheme of the universe; in the Āgamika rites only one god who is, like Jehovah a jealous god is worshipped and he has all the cosmic functions in his own hands. In the Vedic rites not only is every offering accompanied by a Vedic mantra, but every act of the performer, e.g. yoking bulls to a cart for bringing Soma, cutting a stick to help to drive the bull, grasping with the hands an offering,

boiling milk, making buttermilk, in fact every action, small or big, is accompanied by the recitation of a mantra, poetical or prose. But in the Āgamika rites Vedic mantras have no legitimate place. A few are used, here and there, but most inappropriately. Thus a mantra which begins with the syllable dhū is used for offering incense (dhūpa), though the mantra really refers to the lifting of the yoke of a cart. But the main part of the Āgamika rite consists in the repetition of the numerous names of the gods worshipped with the phrase *namaḥ* (I bow) added. The essence of the Vaidika rites is the pouring of oblations, but that of the Āgamika one is *upacāra*, washing, decking, and feeding the god, in fact showing him all the attentions due to a human guest or a human king. Hence in the Vaidika rite no physical representation or representative of the deity worshipped was necessary, visible fire representing all the gods; in the Āgamika rite, the only deity worshipped had to be represented by some visible emblem, the emblem being a fetish, a tool, such as a sword or a club, a living or dead tree, a stone, a running stream, a *liṅga*, a *sālagrāma*, or, above all, a picture, or a statue of the deity in brick and mortar, stone, or metal, made in the shape assigned to him by his worshippers.

The Vedānta :

The culmination of the Veda is the Vedānta, of (Vaidika) Karma is Jñāna. The means of reaching immortality is knowledge : as the Śruti has it, *tam evam vidvān amṛta īha bhavati, nānyah panthā ayanāya vidyate*, 'it is by knowing him that (one) becomes immortal here ; there is no other path for going (to him).' The culmination of the Āgama way is Bhakti. The

means of reaching immortality is ananya cintā, 'uninterrupted meditation on him alone.' or as Śrī Kṛṣṇa says pointedly *eka bhaktiḥ*, 'devotion to the one.' The thirty-two vidyās taught in the Upanisads are the forms of discipline through some of which one ought to go before he could reach the goal. The caryā and kriyā (*i.e.*, the first and second) books of the Āgamas describe the means of worship of Śiva or Viṣṇu, but as the discipline of bhakti has in many cases to be supplemented by some psychological discipline in the form of yoga-practice, the third book of every Āgama text deals with yoga; the fourth book of the Āgamas deals with jñāna, not the Jñāna above referred to, but jñāna in the sense of the exposition of the philosophical principles underlying the Āgama teaching. This philosophy is absolutely different from the Vedānta, since the latter posits only one reality behind the Universe—Brahma—and the former posits the tatva trayam, three-fold reality, Īvara, the individual and matter. Though each Āgama thus possesses a yoga pāda and a jñāna pāda, the Āgamas are primarily the scriptures of the Bhakti Mārga, as the Upanisads are the scriptures of the Jñāna Mārga. The former is for the many and the latter is for the select. The former is an easy path and the latter a difficult one. As Śrī Kṛṣṇa says, 'Great is the pain (to be undergone) by those whose heart is set upon the unmanifest; the path of the unmanifest brings much pain to the beings who are embodied.'²

² kleśodhikaras teṣām avyaktūśakta cotasām |
avyaktābhigatir dukkham dehavadbhīr avūpyate |.
Bhag. Gīta vii. 5.

The Vaidika rites required the division of the people into four varṇas and led to the exclusion of the members of the last varṇa from the study of the Veda and the Vedānta. The division of the people into four varṇas led also to the development of the Varṇāśrama Dharma and to the distribution of the āśramas among the varṇas. The upshot of this was the doctrines that Sanyāsa was open alone to the Brāhmaṇas and that mokṣa was attainable only after the special training involved in the life of the Sanyāsi. The corollary of these doctrines was that mokṣa according to the Vaidika path, was reachable only by Brāhmaṇas. The Āgamas set their face against these doctrines. Any one, even a candāla, can obtain an image or a symbol of Viṣṇu or Śiva and make pūjā to him. The Tamil legends of the Sivanaḍiyār refer to low-caste Śaiva devotees who worshipped Śiva in shrines; Kaṇappa Nāyanār offered meat to Śiva in the Kāḷahastī shrine. One of the Vaiṣṇava hymnists probably of the VIIIth century A.D., was a Pāṇan, a member of a low caste whose feet were so degraded as to unfit them to tread on the holy soil around Śrīraṅgam temple. The Āgamas did not recognize the four castes; but the Vedānta, being technically a part of the Veda, was a sealed book to the Śūdras. Bādarāyaṇa has a special section establishing this view, that because Śūdras are not entitled to ceremonial purifications, they are prohibited from hearing and studying the Vedas³. The Āgamas on the contrary were open to all men; so much so that even to-day, a Pariah who has received Sivadiṁśa can give this diṁśa to a Brāhmaṇa and thus become the Guru of the latter. The institution of the Sanyāsa too spread among the followers of the

³ Ved. Sūtras I. iii. 35--38.

Āgamas. The Vaiṣṇava sanyāsīs were called *ekāntīs* and the Śaiva sanyāsīs, *Śivayogīs*; according to the fundamental principles of the Āgamas, Sanyāsa is not a necessary preliminary to Mokṣa, for Bhakti, open to all castes, can steer even a householder across the ocean of Samsāra; if these Bhaktas became sanyāsīs, it was because the practice of yoga became a part—not necessarily integral—of the Āgama teaching and the practice of yoga was rendered easy by a life of Sanyāsa.

Rivalry between the Vaidikas and the Āgamikas :

In ancient days, there was much animosity between the Vaidikas and the Āgamikas. The latter denounced the shedding of blood in the name of the gods and were opposed to the eating of all meat, and especially of beef. Echoes of their condemnation of bloody sacrifices are heard in the *Mahābhārata* and ultimately led to the substitution of the *piṭṭapasu*, animal figurines made of starch, for living cattle in the *yajñas* performed by people who, in later days, followed an eclectic path, compounded of the Vaidika and Āgamika ones. The *Bhagavad Gītā*, was primarily a scripture of the subdivision of the Āgamikas, called *Bhāgavatas* : *Srī Kṛṣṇa* combined the Bhakti teachings of the *Bhāgavatas* with the *Jñāna* teaching of the *Vedānta* and the supremely subtle metaphysics of the *Sāṅkhya*, and spoke from a supernal place whence these varying systems are seen to be but different aspects of the one Truth and taught this transcendental Truth to Arjuna. But yet the *Bhagavad Gītā* retains enough of its original Āgamika characteristic in that it denounces in very violent terms the Veda, i.e., the *Karma Kāṇḍa*, "The unwise, who delight in vedic disputations, O Pārtha, say these flowery words, 'there is nothing else (than the karma

path)'. Their hearts are filled with desire and they aspire for (the enjoyments in) svarga, and (they aim) at what gives rebirth and the fruit of Karma, and what is full of innumerable ceremonial rites and follow the path of enjoyment and power. Devoted to enjoyment and power, with hearts subjugated by them, their buddhi which can give them certain knowledge is not steadied in peaceful meditation. The Veda deals with things charged with the three guṇas: but Arjuna, be above the things characterized by the three guṇas."* Besides, there are in the Bhagavad Gītā a number of technical terms peculiar to the Āgamas.

The Vaidikas, on the other hand, regarded the Āgamikas with supreme contempt. This was but the continuation of the derision with which the Āryas of old spoke of the Dasyu, the reciter of the mantras, of the mridravācaḥ. There is a trace of this contempt even to-day, though the Vaidika and the Āgamika paths have been blended together as one since the days of Yāmunaācārya, for the temple-priests, both of the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava variety, are regarded as inferior Brāhmaṇas by strict Vedāntis; in fact, even fifty years ago there existed to my knowledge followers of the Advaita Vedānta, who would not enter any temples. The Vedānta, which was the culmination of the Veda, also

* yāmīmām puspitām vācampravādantyavipascitāḥ |
vedavāda rathāḥ pārtha nānyadastitīvādinah || kāmāt-
mānaḥ svargaparāḥ janmakarma phalapradān | kriyā
vīkṣa bahulām bhogaivārya phalamprati || bhogaivārya
prasaktānām tayāpabrita cetasaḥ | vyavasāyātmikā
buddhiḥ samādhauna vidhivāte || traiguṇya viśayā vedā
nistraiguṇyo bhavārjuna || Bhag. Gītā ii. 42-45.

severely condemned the Āgamika path; Bādarāyaṇa denounced both the Pāśupata^a and the Pāñcarātra in his Sūtras.^b

When the Āgamas rose :

Now I shall discuss the question, when the Āgama teachings were conceived and whence they were derived. The first question is not difficult to answer. Just as the frightful massacre during the recent great war is bringing about a new order of things—only what it will be it is too soon to guess—the great carnage of the Mahābhārata, led to profound changes in the life of India. The Age of the Rsis who were the seers of mantras, mantra-draṣṭārah, passed away never to return. A profound pessimism, i.e., discontent with the life of the enjoyments of the senses, here and hereafter, in the Bhūloka as well as in the Svargaloka, which alone the Karma Kāṇḍa of the Veda promised, seized the people. The thinkers sought a way out of evil in various ways of meditation on the Brahma Paramam, which alone is the changeless (akṣara) in the midst of changing phenomena (nāmarūpa), and the thirty-two vidyās of the Upaniṣads were born. The Upaniṣads were evolved out of the Karma Kāṇḍa, so much so that the traces of the methods of the Karma Kāṇḍa are visible in some of the upaniṣada vidyās described in the Chāndogya and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka. The bulk of the people, however, were weaklings; their lungs felt choked in rising to the sublime heights of the upaniṣada teachings and practices. For them were evolved the Āgamika teachings and practices; these partook of the nature of the ordinary life of the world, for the methods of the

^a Vedānta Sūtras II ii. 37-41.

^b Ib. II ii. 42-44.

worship of the gods is but a copy of the methods of the worship of men—chiefly gurus and kings. Thus we see that the post-Bhārata age was the time when the Upanisads and the chief Āgamas came into being.

The origin of the Āgamas :

The second question, whence arose the Āgamika practices, is a little more difficult to answer. The Āgamika methods of worship being entirely fire-less and not being accompanied by the recitation of Vedic mantras, must have been developed from the Dasyu rites. The Dasyu rites certainly prevailed throughout India, in the South and in the North, before the rise of the Ārya rites. The Vedas and the subsidiary Vedic literature are so vast and so all-engrossing that no one ever asks himself the question, what became of the Dasyu rites during the Vedic Age. European scholars are so engrossed with their interpretation of the quarrels of the Āryas and the Dasys as racial ones and with the problem of the merging of the latter in the former that they never stop to enquire about the history of the Dasyu rites after the spread of the Ārya ones. To enable us to answer this question satisfactorily, we ought to remember that the Śrauta sacrifices were not the rites of a religion of the masses, of what might be called a popular religion, in that only Brāhmaṇa priests (ṛtviks) alone could take part in them and though the kings, the nobles and the merchants who were rich enough to pay for their performance could obtain the unseen benefits of the yajñas, they could not participate in the rites. The Atharva Veda does contain the mantras to be used in various domestic fire-rites but there is absolutely no evidence to prove that these rites were practised by all and sundry, by the elect few as well as

by the masses. The common folk must have had religious practices of their own other than the fire-rite all during the Vedic Age, and these must have been the old Dasyu rites. Is there any way of finding out what kinds of rites they were and what gods the common people worshipped? Tamil India like North India pursued Dasyu fireless rites before the rise of the Ārya fire-cult and a sketch of the religion of the ancient Tamils has already been given. The common folk of North India must have continued to worship the same regional gods without fire in the Vedic Age as they did before that age began. The Dasyu ritual like the ritual of the Savaras to-day consisted in offering food to the deity to the accompaniment of ritual singing and ritual dancing. That was how, according to Vālmīki, the coronation of Sugrīva was celebrated, a coronation being in those days not a secular but a religious ceremonial.

As the fire-rite declined after the war of the Mahābhārata the Brāhmaṇa priests, finding their occupation gone, must have turned their attention to the fireless rites still prevailing in the country. The attractiveness of Bhakti to people who are of the emotional temperament as most people are—for men of the severe intellectual temperament whose minds can live on a pabulum of airy abstractions are always rare—must have been another factor in turning the attention of Brāhmaṇas to the path of the Bhakta. They worked out the idea of the Trimūrti, correlating it with the Sāṅkhya doctrine of the triple guṇa of matter, they evolved the doctrines of the many avatāras* of Viṣṇu and the innumerable, but temporary human manifesta-

* The Bhāgavata Purāṇa mentions at least 22.

tions of Śiva*, and they gradually composed 108 Vaiṣṇava Āgamas and 28 Śaiva Āgamas; later was developed another Āgama school, that of Śakti, which boasts of 77 Āgamas. The existence of Śiva-worship and Kṛṣṇa-worship in his days is testified to by Pāṇini.

Slowly, very slowly the Vedānta and the Āgama schools gravitated towards each other. In the Puranas, they exist side by side, and are not blended into one. Even in the time of Saṅkarācārya (VIII century A D), we find they were not amalgamated into one. For in expounding the Vedānta Sūtras he follows Eādarāyaṇa in regarding the Pāṣupata and the Pāñcarātra schools as heretical; yet his *Prapañca Hṛdaya* is a pure Āgama work, and he is called *śaṁmatasthāpanācārya*, because according to tradition he systematized the worship of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Śakti, Gaṇapati, Subrahmanya and Sūrya and introduced it in the ritual observed in the Maṭhas founded by him. Thus we see that he kept his Vedānta and Āgamika works strictly apart from each other. It was Lāmunācārya, the founder of the Vaiṣṇava Vedānta, usually called the Viśiṣṭhādvaita Vedānta, that first pleaded for the authority (*prāmāṇya*) of the Vaiṣṇava i.e., sātvika Āgamas as equal to that of the Vedas and it was Rāmānujācārya that first actually blended them into one. But this took place long after the Āgamika teachings migrated to South India; when and how they spread in South India will be discussed later on.

* Brahma was left in the cold by the Āgamas, because he could not lead to Mokṣa, being one whose activity was exhausted with the act of creation.

The rise of the Āgama schools in North India has been discussed in so much detail, because the Āgama rites, evolved from Pre-Aryan Indian cults, were destined to subjugate the minds of South India in the V and VI century A.D. and when blended with the Vedānta, to flow back to North India and become the living Hinduism of the last thousand years.



CHAPTER IX.

NORTH INDIA AND SOUTH INDIA.

1000 B. C.—100 B. C.

Āpastamba and Baudhāyana:

Āpastamba, almost the last of the Sūtrakāras, lived and taught in the upper valley of the Godāvarī and legislated for the Dākṣiṇātya Brāhmins of the Yajur Veda. According to Buhler he cannot be placed later than the V century B.C.¹ I am inclined to place him at least two centuries earlier, in view of the fact that he speaks of Śvetaketu, who belonged to the 5th generation after the Bhārata battle² i.e., the XIII century B. C. as an 'avara' or 'a recent personage.' Moreover Buhler has pointed out that Āpastamba "did not follow Pāṇini's Grammar" and it is "very unlikely that he knew it at all."³ Most probably he lived earlier than Pāṇini. Most European scholars have not yet released themselves from the prejudiced view that Pāṇini lived in the IV century B. C. though Goldstucker and Sir R. B. Bhandarkar have smashed all the arguments in favour of this view and have given a number of proofs which establish his age as the VII century B. C. If Āpastamba was anterior to Pāṇini, his date must be still earlier than that above suggested by me. Baudhāyana, a Sūtrakāra of

¹ Sacred Text Books of the East, II, p. xxxvii-xliii.

² Pargiter, op. cit. list on page 330.

³ S. T. B. op. cit. p. xlii.

the same Vedic school (śākhā) as Āpastamba, was probably about two centuries his senior. Both these Sūtrakāras belonged to the Taittirīya Śākhā of the Black (Kṛṣṇa) Yajur Veda. This śākhā is prevalent chiefly South of the Vindhya. Its followers in North India are but descendants of South Indian Brāhmanas who migrated North within the last thousand years. The Taittirīya Śākhā must have been a South Indian śākhā, from the time it became a separate śākhā, i.e. since the time of Vaiśampāyana, disciple of Vyāsa, i.e. from about the age of the Bhārata battle; for we cannot imagine that all the followers of a śākhā migrated from the North to the South without leaving a trace behind⁴. There is no allusion to such a catastrophic event in the Puranic or other tradition. Hence there was enough intercourse between South India and North India for the Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda to become the Śākhā of the Dākṣiṇātya Brāhmanas in the XIV and XIII centuries B.C. And Baudhāyana being an early legislator of this school, I am inclined to place him about 900 B.C. This date might seem absurdly high for Baudhāyana, but if we remember that from before Rāma's time there were Āryas on the banks of the Godāvari, that his pacification of South India must have led to the further spread of Āryas there, that in the time of Veda Vyāsa and Vaiśampāyana the students of the (Kṛṣṇa) Yajur Veda were confined to the districts about that river, and that Baudhāyana was the earliest sūtrakāra of that śākhā, and again if we admit

⁴ The Tittiris were among the Southerners who fought on the side of the Pāṇḍavas. I believe their Śākhā was called Taittirīya and the legend about Vaiśampāyana's swallowing Yājñavalkya's spittle, a later invention to account for the bird-name of the Śākhā.

that Pāṇini lived in the VII century B.C., that Āpastamba was either his contemporary or lived some time before him and that Baudhāyana must have preceded Āpastamba by at least two centuries, I cannot see how my conclusion about his date can be assailed. But though Baudhāyana belonged to these early times, the Sūtras that go by his name cannot be given this early date. These Sūtras, unlike those of Āpastamba, seem to have undergone much additions and amendments at the hands of his remote followers; for some of the rites prescribed in them are so elaborate as to raise the suspicion that they belong to a late date and the mention of the planets in the order of the week days over which they preside, shows that the Sūtras were tampered with in later times.

Southern vs. Northern customs of the Āryas :

Baudhāyana, legislating for Southern Brāhmanas naturally discusses the customs peculiar to Dākṣiṇātyas and more or less repulsive to the Āryas of Āryāvartta. Five ancient Dasyu customs which the South Indians clung to, after they had adopted the Ārya cult and become subject to Ārya laws, have been noted by Baudhāyana. "They are, eating in the company of an uninitiated person, eating in the company of women, eating stale food, indulgence in love-passages by a man and the daughter of his maternal uncle or of his father's sister. ... For each (of these customs) the (rule of the) country should be considered the authority."² Baudhā-

² Yathetad anupetena saha bhojanam, striyā saha bhojanam, paryuṣita bhojanam, mātula pitṛvasyāduhitṛ gamanam, iti ... tatra deśaprāmāṇyam eva syāt. Baudh. Dh. Sū. i. 1.2.3 and 6.

yana knew that Gautama, a northern law-giver, did not acknowledge the authority of local custom⁶; this shows that Baudhāyana would abolish these customs if he could, but he was powerless to induce the Āryas south of the Narmadā to give up their old customs. Old customs die hard or rather they do not die at all but persist for many millenniums, either as they are or slightly disguised. Buhler, in his translation of Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtras (Sacred Text Books of the East vol. XIV) inaccurately renders *mātula pītṛsvaṣṭṛ duhitṛ gamanam*, as marriage between cousins. Such marriages were the norm in South India. It is to-day practically compulsory among the Telugu Brāhmanas⁷ and fairly common among other South Indian Brāhmanas. As marriage between cousins was the norm, if, when such marriage has not taken place, the cousins make up for lost opportunities, it is not considered as exhibiting such a terrible degree of moral turpitude as it would be in other cases. Ordinarily risky jokes can be exchanged by cousins, even when they are not married to each other, without much social opprobrium. Another result of the custom of marriage between cousins is that the same Tam'l word *attān* does duty for the son of the sister or the father and a brother-in-law, i.e. wife's brother or elder sister's husband. *Paryuṣita bhojanam* is the eating of *palaiyadu*, cooked rice kept overnight

⁶ *mithyāitadīti Gautamaḥ* I. 1.2.7.

⁷ Among Telugu non-Brāhmanas, it is common for a man to marry his sister's daughter, a custom not quite unknown among Brāhmanas of the South. So that in the dialect of Telugu spoken by the non-Brāhmanas, the word '*kōḍḍu*' means either niece or wife.

soaked in water, a healthy custom, especially if the rice is of the boiled variety where the proteid and vitamin contents are not ground out of the rice. This custom is regarded with loathing by the Northern Āryas as a very unholy one but the Tamils stuck to it notwithstanding Aryan opposition; but what the legislator could not effect, modern civilization is doing, i.e. to substitute the stimulant, coffee, and hot, freshly made rice-cakes, for *paryuṣita annam*.

Meat Eating of Early Brāhmanas :

South Indian Brāhmanas of this period like those of North India were meat-eaters. Baudhāyana says that while animals, carnivorous and tame birds and tame cocks and pigs should not be eaten, goats and sheep, five five-toed animals (*pañcupaṇca pakhāḥ*) the porcupine, the iguana, the hare, the hedgehog, the tortoise, five animals with cloven hoofs (*dvikhurīṇaḥ*) the nilgāi, the common deer, the spotted deer, the buffalo, and the wild boar, the five kinds of birds that feed scratching with their feet, the partridge, the blue rock pigeon, the *kapiṇca*, the *vārdhrāṇsa*, and the peacock, the fishes, *sahasradhamṣtri*, *cilicima*, *varmī*, *bṛhaciras*, *maṣakari*, *rohita* and the *rāji*, may be eaten. The rhinoceros and the black antelope are added to this long list under protest.* Āpastamba gives a list of animals that may not be eaten, but his teachings, in the matter of meat-eating, are practically the same as Baudhāyana's, while he has a special *tātra* in which he says that the meat of milch cows and oxen may be eaten" and as he has thought fit to add that the

* Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtras 1.5.121-5.

" Āpastamba Dharma Sūtras 1.5.17.30.

Vājasaneyaka¹⁰ declares 'bull's flesh is fit for offering,' we can infer that the sentiment against the eating of beef was already declaring itself in the south. Śrāddhas, according to Āpastamba, ought to be performed in the latter half of every month to gladden the manes, and secure different kinds of rewards to the performer and the period for which they are satisfied depends on the kind of meat offered. Thus beef satisfies them for a year, buffalo's meat for a longer time, rhinoceros' meat for a still longer time, also that of the fish called śatabali, the crane called vārdhrāṣa¹¹. When and why South Indian Brāhmaṇas gave up meat-eating is an interesting problem. The Tamil poet, Kapilar, who, I believe, lived in the V century A. D. says "my hands have become soft, because they do know of no harder work than eating rice and meat boiled with tamarind (in a fire, on which flowers were strewn, so that) the sweet smell of its smoke might counteract the smell of the pieces of meat"¹². In another place he speaks of himself as desiring as reward for his poems "the opening of the liquor jar, the slaying of rams and the cooking of rice and curry"¹³. In the V and VI centuries A. D. flowed

¹⁰ Yājñavalkya says in Sat. Brāh. iii. 1.2.21. 'I for one eat it (*i.e.* the flesh of the cow and the ox), provided it is tender.'

¹ Op. cit. ii. 7. 16. 4, 7, 26-28; also Ib. 17. 1-3.

² புலவனாற்றத்த பைத்தடி.

பூசாற் றத்த புகைகொளிஇ பூன் றவை
கறிசோ றண்டு வருத்ததொழி வல்லது
பிறிததொழி வறியான வாகவி னன்று

மெவ்விட.

Puram, 14, II. 12-16.

¹³ மட்டுவாய் திறப்படி மைவிடை பிழிப்படி
மட்டான் ருளுக் கொழுத்துவை பூன்சோறும்
பெட்டாக்கு.

Puram, 113. II. 1-3.

into the Tamil land a great wave of Bhakti to Viṣṇu and to Śiva. These cults had to fight against that of the Jaiṇas; the Jaina ascetic teachers were the first teachers to insist on their lay disciples (śrāvakas) giving up meat-eating. The Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva cults could not make much headway against the cult of the Jaiṇas, if they did not give up the eating of flesh. Hence they adopted abstention from meat and liquor as one of their fundamental principles. This, I guess, was the reason why Brāhmaṇas who were the first teachers of the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva Āgamas in South India became strict vegetarians.

Varṇas:

The laws of the South Indian sūtrakūtras were chiefly meant for Brāhmaṇas who in this age were but very few in the Tamil country, but were abundant in the head of the Gōdavarī valley. Though the sūtras speak of four castes and innumerable cross-castes, it is only as a matter of theory for they concern themselves in their laws very much more with Brāhmaṇas than with others. Cāturvarṇya, the four-caste organization of the Āryas was a fact only in Āryāvarta in the Vedic Age. After the Māhabhārata war, 'confusion of castes,' varṇasaukara, prevailed in North India, as Arjuna anticipated.¹⁴ In South India cāturvarṇya was always a matter of theory and was never a reality. For the life of the Brāhmaṇas till about the V century A. D. was totally apart from that of the bulk of the Tamil people. Long before the spread of Aryan institutions in the Tamil country, the people were divided into five tribes, according to the five kinds of life they led in the Stone Age, the nomad, the

¹⁴ Bhag. Gītā I. 41-43.

hunter, the fisherman, the herdsman and the farmer, as the result of the life conditions respectively of the desert, the hill, the sea-coast, the forest and the riverine regions. These five tribes developed customs of their own and a culture of their own, different in many respects from the Ārya ones; and the Aryan institutions could not at all affect the course of Tamil life. Hence the broad stream of the indigenous Tamil culture and the thin stream of imported Ārya culture flowed, like the waters of the Jumnā and the Gaṅgā for many miles down from Prayāga, without mingling their waters. The earliest specimens of Tamil poetry that we now have shown that for many centuries the Tamil Brāhmaṇas lived apart from the main current of Tamil national life and did not influence the course of Tamil poetry.

Pāṇini and South India:

The Tamil kings had little or nothing to do with the kaleidoscopic changes of dynasties in Kuru-Pāṇḍala, Magadha, Avanti and other northern countries from the end of the Mahābhārata War down to the establishment of the dynasty of the Nandas. Hence the Northern authors of Sanskrit books in the first half of the first millennium, such as Pāṇini, have not referred to the southerners at all. Pāṇini, who, as I think, flourished in about the VII century B.C., makes no mention of any province to the South of the Narmadā except that of Aśmaka. From this D. R. Bhandarkar infers that the names of Southern countries were not known to Pāṇini. He says, "no sane scholar who has studied the Aṣṭādhyāyī will be so bold as to assert that Pāṇini was a careless or ignorant grammarian. But we have not one word, but at least three words, viz., Pāṇḍya, Coḷa, and Keraḷa, the formation of whose forms has not

been explained by Pāṇini, which any accurate and thorough-going grammarian would have done if they had been known to him. The only legitimate conclusion that can, therefore, be drawn is that the names of these southern countries, were not known to Pāṇini, or in other words, were not known to the Aryans in the VII century B.C."¹⁵. I am sorry I cannot appreciate the cogency of this reasoning. Pāṇini might well have known those words but might not have regarded them as Sanskrit words (they are really Tami words). It so happens that he discusses many names of places and rivers near the districts he was personally acquainted with, in what we now call the Panjab and Afghanistan and a few more to South. To take his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* on this account as a complete geography of the parts of India known to him is not right and to say that he did not know the names of the countries he does not mention in his grammar, and to go further and maintain that the Aryans of his time did not know them is to push the argument from silence to the most absurd lengths¹⁶. Baudhāyana and Āpastamba one of whom

¹⁵ Carm. Lec. 1918, pp. 4-7.

¹⁶ Speaking of the argument from silence Pargiter remarks "one might argue with more force that, because the banyan, the most characteristic tree of India, is not mentioned in the Rg Veda, there were none in India when the hymns were composed", *op. cit.* p. 125 and again, "its silence about the Vindhya Mountains and other geographical features prove no ignorance, when one considers its silence about the banyan, about salt, and about the Pāriyātra hills (the Aravalli range), which the Aryans had actually reached according to the current view." *Ib.* p. 299.

perhaps was Pāṇini's contemporary and the other probably flourished before his time, lived and legislated in the South of India and they certainly were Aryans. Moreover if Pāṇini had been ideally encyclopaedic in completeness, there was no necessity for Kūṭyāyana and Patañjali to supplement his grammatical teachings in their Vārttika and Mahābhāṣya respectively.

The Jātaka Tales and South India :

The Jātaka, which is a collection of tales of the numerous births of the Bodhisatta, who later became Gotama the Buddha, is a record of the folk-tales current among the North Indians in the V and preceding centuries adapted to the needs of the heretical Buddha cult ; these tales were written down about the IV century B. C., but they must have existed as folk-tales long before the time of the Buddha. Some of these tales show that the intercourse between North and South India was as intimate as in previous and later times. The Tales speak of voyages of merchants to Tambapaṇṇī dīpa (Ceylon) where Yakkhiṇīs (she-goblins, i.e., aborigines, believed to be cannibals) lived, in Sirisavattu nagara ; when the ships of merchants were wrecked near the place, the Yakkhiṇīs gave them food and drink, married them and finally ate them up. These Yakkhiṇīs scoured the coast from the river Kalyāṇī to Nāgaḍīpa for victims.¹⁷ Notwithstanding the fact that the island was infested with Yakkhiṇīs (a reminiscence of the old Rāmāyaṇa tales about the inhabitants of Ceylon) a party of men travelled to Ceylon and there became Sanyāsīs¹⁸.

¹⁷ Valāhassa Jātaka No. 196, Nāgaḍīpa is used for the coasts of Ceylon and Malabar.

¹⁸ Hatthipāla Jātaka, No. 509, Mūgapakka Jātaka No. 538.

The Buddha himself when he was born as a little Bowman, learnt the Vedas and completed his education at Takkhasilā and went to the Andhra country for practical experience.¹⁹ We are here not concerned with his experiences there. In another of his births he was a dealer of pots and pans in the kingdom of Sēri and was called 'the Sēriyan'. Probably this Sēri was the Sēra country. In his travels as a hawker, he crossed the river Telavāha and reached Andhapura. The Andha, i.e. Andhra country, is not far from the Sēra country.²⁰ In yet another incarnation of the Bodhisatta, he was born as Akitti, the son of a Brāhmaṇa mahāsāla (Brāhmaṇa magnate). He turned ascetic, and along with his sister, Yasavatī, departed to a place three leagues from Benares: but, to escape from the benefactions of his admirers, he left the place by himself and repaired to the kingdom of Damiḷa, where he dwelt in a garden (uyyāna) near Kāverapattana. It may be noted in passing that from this it may be inferred that Kāvēripattinam was one of the Śōḷa capitals (though the Śōḷas are not named in the tale) when this folk-tale was current, that in the Northern dialect its name had changed to Kāverapattana and probably the tale of Kavera Ṛsi being the father of the Goddess of the river was also current. Here, too, Akitti was pestered by admirers and he went away to Kāradīpa, also called Ahidīpa, perhaps the same as the Nāgadīpa, near the island of Tambapaṇṇi (Ceylon), and therefore the Malabar coast, which was the land of the Nāgas, as I have suggested earlier. There Akitti, the Bodhisatta,

¹⁹ Bhīmasena Jātaka, No. 80.

²⁰ Sērivāṇya Jātaka No. 3.

reached omniscience. Akitti has for no earthly reason been identified with Agastya by some.

Sihabāhu :

These references to South India in the Jātaka prove that South India was not cut off from North India in the middle of the first millennium B. C. and that intercourse other than political between the two parts of India was as active as ever. On the day that the Buddha died or, in Buddhist phraseology, the Lord of the world lay on the bed of parinibbāna ²¹ Vijaya, son of Sihabāhu the Non-armed together with seven hundred followers landed in Ceylon from the country of Lāṭa (Rāḍha, Eastern Bengal), having been banished from that country by his father for evil conduct. He had been set adrift on a ship and, the geography of his travels being as usual shaky, he landed at Supparaka (now Sopara, north of Bombay) ²²; thence he re-embarked and landed at Tambapanni, in North Ceylon. He became king of the country after defeating and slaying the Yakka (yakṣa) people who lived there; and, requiring wives for himself and his followers, he sent people to the city of Madura in the Dakṣiṇa (South India) with gifts to woo the daughter of the Paṇḍu king ²³ and also to secure wives for the rest; a number

²¹ parinibbānomañcamhi eṇanno lokanāyako, *Mahāvamsa*, vii. 1.

²² This is perhaps a mistake for Sopatma, mentioned as an Eastern sea port by the *Periplus*, a few centuries later. It is not likely that a ship from the Bengal coast, bound for Ceylon, went to Sopara.

²³ The king of Madura is called Paṇḍava. The Fāli writer identified the word Pāṇḍya with the familiar Pāṇḍava, just as Patañjali derived Pāṇḍya from the word Pāṇḍu.

of Tamil girls bedecked with ornaments and, accompanied by elephants, horses and waggons, went to Ceylon. This story gives testimony to the continuance of the ancient intercourse between North and South India. Incidentally it confirms the fact that the Pāṇdyas and the Northerners were not strangers to each other, but so familiar with each other that a Pāṇḍya girl could be demanded for the hand of Vijaya, as a normal event, as was Arjuna's marriage with Citrāṅgadā, and as Arjuna contracted a temporary alliance with the Nāga girl Ulūpī, so Vijaya too had made a terminable marriage with Kuvapā, a Yakkhiṇī. This was a passing adventure with a strange girl; not so the marriage with the Pāṇḍya princess; for as the story says, Vijaya with solemn ceremony consecrated Pāṇḍu's daughter as his queen (*4).

*4 Tato so Vijayo rāja paṇḍurājassa dubhitarā |
mahatā parihāreṇa mahāsittābhīścāyī || Mahāraṃso,
vii. 72.

CHAPTER X

FOREIGN TRADE: 1000—500 B. C.

Palestine and India:

In the X century B. C. the Queen of Sheba gave King Solomon "of spices very great store and precious stones; there came no more such abundance of spices as these which the queen of Sheba gave to King Solomon."¹ In those days India was the land whence these articles went west and we may be sure that the spices and the stones went in Indian boats to the African coast before they reached the Queen's hands. "And the navy also of Hiram that brought gold from Ophir brought in from Ophir great plenty of almag trees and precious stones. And the King made of the almag trees pillars for the house of the Lord, and for the King's house, harps also and psalteries for singers; there came no such almag trees, nor were seen unto this day."² These almag trees have been identified with sandal-wood, and the word, derived from Sanskrit *valgu*. This sandal-wood, native to South India, especially Mysore, Coimbatore and Salem districts, must have been taken to the Gujarat ports and thence transported to Syria via Arabia. Whether the gold taken from Ophir was wholly or partially Indian gold depends on the much disputed identification of Ophir. But since Solomon possessed an immense quantity of gold,³ part of his

¹ I Kings, x. 10.

² Ib. x. 11-13.

³ Ib. x. 14-17 and 21.

store might have been obtained from India. We learn further "For the King had at sea a navy of Tharshish with the navy of Hiram; once in three years came the navy of Tharshish, bringing gold and silver, ivory and apes and peacocks."⁴ With the ivory "the king made a great throne of ivory and overlaid it with the best gold."⁵ It is probable that some of the ivory was contributed by India, for the Hebrew word for ivory, shen habbin, is a translation of Sanskrit *ibha danta*, elephant's tooth, Hebrew habbin, as well as Egyptian *ebu*, being both derived from saoskrit *ibha*.⁶ The apes and peacocks were, as in later times, sent as pets from India. Hebrew *koph* is Sanskrit *kapi*, ape, also borrowed by the Egyptians as *kafu*; and Hebrew *thukki*, peacock, is Tamil *tōgal*, tail, the peacock being the bird with the splendid tail. Other articles received by the Hebrews along with their names from India were *sadin*, cotton-cloth, from Dravidan *sindu* (already referred to); *karpas*, cotton, from Sanskrit *karpāsa* and lastly *ahal* from Tamil *ahil*, Sanskrit *agaru*, Greek *agallochum*, rendered variously in English as eagle-wood, aloes-wood⁷ or lign-aloes. Ebony was another Indian article which reached Palestine. Says Schoff, "the earliest definite Old Testament reference is in Ezekiel xxvii. 13, where it appears as a commodity in the trade of Tyre: 'the men of Dedan were thy merchants: many isles were the merchandise of thine hand; they brought thee for a present horns of

⁴ *Ib.* x. 22.

⁵ *Ib.* x. 18.

⁶ From *ebu* came Greek *el-apha*: (as some hold), *el* being the Arabic particle prefixed.

⁷ "All thy garments of myrrah and a'oes and cassia," *Psalms*, xlv. 8.

ivory and ebony.' If the Oxford editor's identification of Dedan with the south shore of the Persian Gulf be correct, this passage indicates a steady trade in ebony from India prior to the VII century B. C., and exactly confirms the statement of the *Periplus* that it was shipped from Barygaza to Omana and Apologus,"* and also proves the soundness of arguing from the records of later times that the trade mentioned existed in earlier times.

India and Assyria :

On the Obelisk of Shalmeneser III (860 B. C.) are figures of apes and Indian elephants. "The Nimrud Inscription of the great Assyrian monarch Tiglath Pileser III tells how 'fear of the brilliance of Ashur, my lord, overcame Merodach-baladan, of Yakin, King of the sea-country' and how he came and made submission, bringing as tribute 'gold—the dust of his land—in abundance, vessels of gold, necklaces of gold, precious stones, the product of the sea (pearls?), beams of rushu-wood, elluhu-wood, party-coloured clothing, spices of all kinds'," almost all being Indian exports of the day. He also made the Persian Gulf ports centres also for the gold produced farther to the East in Persia, Carmania and the Himalayas².

In the markets of Tyros, "situate at the entry of the sea,"³ were bright iron, cassia and calmus.⁴ The bright iron was Indian steel which was imported in

* Schoff's *Periplus* p. 153.

² *Ib.* p. 160.

³ *Ezekiel*, xvii, 19.

⁴ In later times was composed 'a Special Greek treatise on the tempering of Indian Steel.' Warmington *op. cit.*, p. 258.

various countries in ancient times for making swords; cassia was the ancient name for the bark of the cinnamon; calamus was a kind of aromatic grass. These articles went from India to Tyrus, as well as the spices, precious stones and gold taken to it by the merchants of Sheba¹².

Sennacherib (704-681 B.C.) enlarged the city of Nineveh, built therein a palace for himself and planted a great park where among other trees he introduced "trees bearing wool" (an expression used more than 250 years later by Herodotus¹³ to describe the cotton plant), imported from India.¹⁴

Warmington remarks that "the Indians of old transported living animals by sea to the Persian Gulf and to Africa and China."¹⁵ He says also that "it was natural that the Indian humped cattle used for draught, burden and riding should spread westwards by land so as to form part of the domestic cattle of Persia, Syria, and Africa. Thus we find representations of it in Assyrian and later art."¹⁶ We may also believe that among animal products sent westwards by the Indians were "fine skins of lions, tigers and leopards."¹⁷ In later times ghi (and gingelly oil) were sent to East Africa, where, as little oil was produced, it was naturally in demand. This was true of the I century A. D.¹⁸ and may well have been true of earlier ages.

¹² Ezekiel, xxvii, 23.

¹³ iii, 106.

¹⁴ J.R.A.S. 1910, p. 403 (Pinches).

¹⁵ *Op. cit.* pp. 147.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, 149-150.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 159.

¹⁸ *Periplus*. 41.

Other articles :

Aromatics and spices were the most valuable plant products sent by India. As Warmington says the carriage of aromatics and spices by the Arabians across their peninsula lasted for ages. Pepper was an important article of trade in Phoenician ships of old. Cinnamon was taken from very ancient times in Indian ships straight to the Somali coast and was thence passed on to Arabia and to Egypt and to Syria.¹⁹

It is well-known that there was a long-standing trade in Indigo and probably other dyes between India and ancient Egypt.²⁰ We have records of numerous other Indian articles, which the Romans, after the beginning of the Christian era, got either direct from Indian ports or through the Arabians and the Egyptians as intermediaries. The traffic in those articles must have existed from earlier times, but we have no contemporary evidence of it. The Indian trade in this early period was with Arabia and East Africa, and it was conducted by means of barter; the Indians got in exchange for their goods, gold, frankincense, myrrh and other gum-resins. Indian wares were taken to the African marts of the Somali, to Socotra island, but above all to Arabia Eudæmon, (Aden), a prosperous and wealthy meeting place of Arabians and Indians, and in later times, the Greeks also. As Warmington remarks the Arab-African peoples of the marts of the Somali, carried on a traffic of very long-standing with the Indians of Cambay in Indian, Arabian and African shipping centred at the Cape of Spices (Cape Guardafui) ²¹.

¹⁹ Warmington *op. cit.*, p. 180, 187.

²⁰ *Ib.* p. 204.

²¹ Warmington *op. cit.*, p. 13.

During this period we may well suppose that the trade of the Coromandel and Malabar coasts with China did not languish, for cardamom and other articles of China continued to find their way to Western Asia and East Africa in Indian ships.



CHAPTER XI

NORTH AND SOUTH INDIA : 500 B. C.—1 B. C.

Kātyāyana and Patañjali :

A few centuries after Pāṇini, perhaps in the IV century B. C. lived Kātyāyana, who found that Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī was defective and wrote Vārttikas to supplement the rules of Pāṇini. According to a note furnished to me by Mr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sāstrī, Assistant Editor of the Tamil Lexicon, Kātyāyana was a Southerner. The note is as follows :—" The fact that Vararuci, (the personal name of Kātyāyana), the author of Vārttikas on Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, was a Southerner, is evident from the statement, 'priyataddhita dāksinātyāh,' 'the Southerners are fond of taddhita forms,' of Patañjali, the V, ākarāṇa bhāṣyakāra, when he elucidates the first Vārttika, siddhā śabdārtha sambandhē lokato rthaprayukte śabdaprayoge sūtreṇa dharma niyamah yathā laukika-vaidikeṣu, 'when the word, its meaning and their relation are nitya and word is used in the meaning current in the world, sūtra or grammatical science enjoins the use of correct words for dharma (apūrva) and in dharma (sacrifices)', in the first Āhnika of Mahābhāṣya, wherein he says that instead of using 'lokevedeca', Vararuci has used 'laukikevaidikeṣu', making use of 'taddhitapratyayas' ". This is enough to prove that a school of Sanskrit grammarians had arisen in South India, had studied the grammar written by Pāṇini in remote Gāndhāra and were qualified to write a treatise for the purpose of supplementing his work.

Being a Southerner Kātyāyana naturally noticed that the Tamil words Pāṇḍya, Śōḷa and Seraḷa, which had been naturalized in Sanskrit literature in the forms Pāṇḍya, Coda and Keraḷa, had not been dealt with by Pāṇini and proceeded to make rules to explain their formation. Pāṇini had made a rule which says, "the suffix añ (comes in the sense of descendant), after a word, which while denoting a country, (also) denotes a tribe of kṣattriyas"¹ This rule not being comprehensive enough, Kātyāyana appends supplementary rules, the third of which says, 'In the case of words which are common to kṣattriya (tribes) and to countries, (to form the word) for its king, (the suffix) indicating a son (should be used)'.² Thus the Rāja of the Pāṇḍyas is Pāṇḍyaśah. Even this cannot explain the formation of Pāṇḍya. So Kātyāyana adds another rule, pāṇḍor dyaṇ vaktavyah, i. e., in the case of the word pāṇḍu, the suffix dyaṇ is used and the derived word is Pāṇḍya.³ To explain Coda and other words, Kātyāyana utilizes another rule of Pāṇini. It says 'after the word kamboja, luk, i. e., there is no suffix'.⁴ Thus from Kamboja, the name of a country, the title of its king, Kambojaśah, is derived. Kātyāyana extends this rule by saying, 'luk should be supplied for Kamboja and others, for the purpose of Coda and other (words)'.⁵ Patañjali says that this Vārttika explains the

¹ Janapada śabdāt kṣattriyād añ. (Aṣṭādhyāyī IV, 1, 168.

² Kṣattriya samāna śabdāḥ janapadāttasya rājanyapatyavat.

³ Keilhorn's Edn. of Patañjali's Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya, Vol. II, p. 269.

⁴ Kambojāl luk IV, 1, 175.

⁵ Kambojādibyo lug vacanam cōḍādyartham.

formation of Coḍaḥ, Kaderah, Keraḥa.⁶ Thus Kātyāyana and Patañjali were of opinion that the royal titles Coḍa and Keraḥa were derived from the names of countries but the title Pāṇḍya was derived from Pāṇḍu which was at the same time the name of a country and a Kṣatriya tribe. This derivation is not sustainable because the tribe which furnished the Madura country with kings was not called Pāṇḍu but Pāṇḍya in Tamil. But yet D.R. Bhandarkar has built on this derivation an elaborate theory of a Northern Kṣatriya tribe called Pāṇḍu migrating to the South and founding Pāṇḍya kingdoms in South India and Ceylon⁷. Neither Kātyāyana nor Patañjali says that Pāṇḍu was the name of a Northern tribe; it is enough for their purpose to assume the name Pāṇḍu for a ruling tribe and for a country. Since all rulers were regarded as Kṣatriyas Patañjali was not far wrong in making Pāṇḍu (which occurs as Paṇḍu in Pali) the name of a Kṣatriya tribe; but it is certainly wrong to make it on that account the name of a foreign, non-Tamil tribe of invaders. D.R. Bhandarkar presses into service for supporting this theory the absurd legend found in Polyæn, strateg. I, 3, 4 supposed to be quoted from Megasthenes which says, "Herakles begot a daughter in India whom he called Pandaia. To her he assigned that portion of India which lies to southward and extends to the sea, while he distributed the people subject to her rule into 365 villages, giving orders that one village should each day bring to the treasury the royal tribute so that the queen might always have the assistance of those men whose

⁶ Mahābhāṣya, op. cit. p. 270.

⁷ Carmichael Lectures, 1918, pp. 9-13.

turn it was to pay the tribute in coercing those who for the time being were defaulters in their payments."*. Much ingenuity has been wasted in the attempt to correlate this with what we know of Madura in early times, but without success. It is but another legend proving the credulity of Megasthenes, like his tale of the ant-men already referred to, or again his other tale of girls in the Pandaian land bearing children when they were six years of age.² At best the legend can only prove what we know from better sources that there was intercourse between the Pāṇḍya country and Pāṭaliputra in the IV century B. C. and that Megasthenes had heard of that country. Nevertheless D. R. Bhandarkar not only accepts the legend of Herakles' daughter ruling over Madura, but also joins the horde of scholars who have without any evidence unsuccessfully tried to find by the method of guessing the Indian equivalents of the Greek gods, such as Dionysos and Herakles, whose characteristics were so utterly different from those of Indian ones. He equates Kṛṣṇa with Herakles, though the persuasive music of Kṛṣṇa's flute is on the opposite pole to the logic of the mighty club of Herakles and, though this equation reduces the legend of Megasthenes to absurdity, he is yet willing to believe that the Pāṇḍus, whose existence in Madhyadeśa is testified to by Varāhamihira of the VI century A. D., invaded the Tamil country, more than two thousand years before Varāhamihira's time and established a line of kings and a tribe of men there! This is speculation with a vengeance.

* McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian* p. 159.

² McCrindle, *op. cit.* p. 144.

The Tamil tradition is that the three kings (mūvāṇḍar) as they were always called by the Tamils, i.e., the Śōļas, the Śēras and the Pāṇḍyas, reigned in the Tamil land from the time of creation, i.e., from time immemorial or rather from the time when Tamil bards began to sing of the Tamil kings. In much later times Brāhmanas induced these kings to claim descent from the Sun and the Moon who originated the various dynasties of Aryan kings, but even then they were not regarded as alien but as Tamil kings. As a matter of fact, Śōļa, Śēra and Pāṇḍya are Tamil tribal names. The Śōļas were an agricultural tribe (vellālar) who lived in the valley of Kāviri and had the ātti (Bauhinia Racemosa), the characteristic flower of that region, as their emblem. The Śēras were Kuṇavar, ¹⁰ i.e. men of the hill region extending from the upper reaches of the tributaries of the Kāviri to the West Coast of South India, of which region the palmyra is the characteristic tree and they had the palmyra (leaf and flower) as their emblem. The Pāṇḍyas were the coast people (para-davar) ¹¹ inhabiting the southernmost region of India, where the margosa is the characteristic tree and fishing is the chief occupation; the carp and the margosa were their emblems. The characteristics and occupations of these tribes were the direct result of the action of their environment on their evolution. Hence all speculations deriving them from regions outside their natural environment are examples of vicious reasoning.

¹⁰ The Kuṇavar of modern times are perhaps degraded descendants of the ancient Kuṇavar.

¹¹ Paradvavar in ancient literature meant both boatmen and chiefs in the Madura country, e.g. தென்பாத்தவர் (தென் நாடு) சாப. Puṇam 378, l.1. தென்பாத்தவர் பேரேதே. Maduraikkāñji 1, 144.

The Empire of Magadha :

In about 400 B. C. Mahāpadma Nanda became the ruler of Magadha. He exterminated all the Kṣatriyas and after his time kings of Śūdra origin prevailed in the land. He became the sole monarch of India and the possessor of the single umbrella of empire¹⁰. Thence the rulers of Magadha claimed the lordship of the whole of India, except perhaps the Tamil districts, the people of which had not yet been subjugated by Ārya culture. This lordship was acknowledged till the death of Āśoka, for we hear of no invasions of the Dakṣiṇāpatha to enforce the claim. Kāliṅga, among other provinces, was under the Magadha rule, for a canal was dug there by the Nandas; so that Āśoka's war in the Kāliṅga country must have been due to a rebellion. Copies of Āśoka's edicts have been found, among other places, at Siddapura, Jāṭiṅga-Rāmeśwara and Brahmagiri in the Mysore territory and at Maski in the Nizam's Dominions and very recently in the Karnool district. This shows that the chief vernacular dialect of North India was understood by the South Indians¹¹ except those of the Tamil country in the III century B. C.; the edicts were not intended for scholars alone; if so, they would have been composed in

¹⁰ *Sarva kṣattriṇtako ṛpaḥ tataḥ prabhṛti rājāno bhaviṣyaḥ śūdra yonayaḥ ekarāṭ sa mahāpadma ekacchatraḥ.* Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age* p. 25.

¹¹ To-day Hindustānī, or Hindī or Urdu, for they are all one essentially, is understood north of 12° N. latitude. This is due not, as is usually believed, so much to the domination of Muḥammadan Sultans in recent times but to the age-long intercourse, commercial, religious and literary, between North and South.

Sanskrit. On the other hand, they were intended to reach the masses. Hence we infer that down to the Peṇṇār valley the chief spoken dialect of North India was understood by the common people in those days; as for the script, the same script, now called the Akoka, was used throughout India in the III century B. C. This shows that great was the intercourse between North and South India in ancient times and it was made still greater by the fact that Mahāpadma Nanda became *śkarāt* and this domination by Magadha continued in the times of the Maurya emperors.

Trade with Magadha :

In the IV century B. C., the trade between North and South India assumed greater proportions than ever. I have already referred to Kautilya's testimony to this. I shall here quote the passage in full. "Of routes by land, that to the Himalayas is superior to that to Dakṣiṇāpatha, says the teacher; for (from the former come) elephants, horses, aromatic materials, ivory, hides, silver and gold articles, most excellent. Not so, says Kautilya, excepting woollen cloth, hides and horses, conchshells, diamonds, sapphires (and other gems) and articles of gold (come) in large quantities from Dakṣiṇāpatha. In Dakṣiṇāpatha, the trade-routes (which go along) many mines, (also places where) excellent articles (are obtained) and which are frequented by many people or are easy to travel on, are superior (to others)"¹⁴. This gives us a

¹⁴ Sthala patha pi haimavato dakṣiṇā pathācchreyān | hastyaśva gandha dantājina rūpya svarṇa-panyāḥ sāravattarāḥ ityācāryaḥ | neti kautilyaḥ kam-balājināśvapanya varjāḥ śaṅkha vajramanīmuktāḥ

picture of a great volume of trade, carried in caravans of creaking country carts (just as we see to-day, where the railway train and the motor lorry have not killed out the ancient method of transit) passing along roads, good and bad, from Cape Comorin to Pāṭaliputra. In another place, where Kautilya refers to things that find their way to the royal treasury, he mentions precious stones (*ratna*) from Tāmraparnī and Pāṇḍyakavāta and Cūrṇa¹⁵ (which latter is explained by a commentator as a river near Muraṇi i.e. Muṣiri in the Keraḷa country), vaidūrya¹⁶ of various colours (which a commentator says were from Strirājya, i.e. Malabar), as well as Paṇḍraka blankets, black and soft as the surface of a gem (which Syāma Sāstri, translator of the Arthaśāstra says were of Pāṇḍya manufacture)¹⁷ and excellent cotton cloth from Madura.¹⁸

Candragupta and South India :

After a splendid reign of a quarter of a century—the most splendid that the world knew in the last quarter of the IV century B.C., Candragupta, like many other Indian monarchs, was possessed by a sudden access of vairāgya and in one night gave up sword and sceptre and became a Jaina ascetic and one of the 12,000 disciples of Bhadrabāhu. He trudged on foot

suvarṇapanyāsa prabhātatarā dakṣiṇāpathe | dakṣiṇāpathe pī bhūhukhanī sūrapanyah prasiddha gatir
alpavyāyāmo vā vaṇīkpathah śreyān. Artha Śāstra,
Jolly and Schmidt vii. 12. 30-34.

¹⁵ Arthaśāstra op. cit. ii 26. 2.

¹⁶ Ib ii. 26. 30.

¹⁷ Ib. translation p. 90.

¹⁸ Ib. Jolly and Schmidt ii. 26. 119.

along with his master and fellow-disciples to Śravaṇa Belgola, in what is now the Hassan District of the Mysore Province. There Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta stayed, the others going to the Pāṇḍya and Śōla countries. Then the Emperor who had turned beggar ministered to his guru's wants, till the latter died; Candragupta survived his master for twelve years, begging his daily food, till, like a true Jaina, when he knew the purpose of his life was achieved and his body was of no more use to him, he starved himself to death, practising the Jaina rite of Sallekhana. We are not here concerned with the great Emperor's life and death, but with the fact that so many thousands of Śādhus as we should call them now, transported themselves from North to South, as a matter of course, just as pilgrims do daily to-day. These Jaina ascotics resided in natural caves in the hills of the Tamil districts and left inscriptions behind them, the deciphering of which has thrown some light on Tamil literary history.

Bauddha migrants:

Like the Jainas, Bauddhas also wandered to South India in search of lonely haunts where they could practise yoga undisturbed and they, too, took to living in natural caves and have left inscriptions. In several cases it is a little difficult to decide whether a particular cave was used by Jainas or by Bauddhas. Such caves have been discovered in various hills of the Pāṇḍya and the Śōla countries. These early migrations of monks were not due to political causes or propagandist enthusiasm. Like the Rṣis of an earlier age, the Bhikkhus of the V and IV century B. C. left their native province only to escape from the semi-condescending patronage of royal

personages or the uncomfortable adulation of admiring lay disciples who desired to acquire cheap merit and lay by a store of puṇya by lavishly entertaining saintly sanyāsīs. The Jaina and the Buddha had to undergo systematic mental training by the method of yoga, which required solitude for its successful practice. And the Jainas required, besides, shelters far from the haunts of men, where they could die in peace in the peculiar manner called Sallekhana. These monks of early times had no burning desire "to save souls." Mahāvira and Buddha did not found religions which would translate men in bulk to heaven, but taught sanyāsīs methods of psychological training which would save the individual from the wheel of compulsory birth and re-birth. These prophets did not appeal to the worldly but to the ascetic; they founded not churches but monasteries. They stimulated the hearts of their disciples by inspired utterances and not filled their mind with dogmas. It was only when the moving waves of inspiration had passed on and been succeeded by the standing pool of reflection, when the desire for the salvation of oneself by following the hard path of self-discipline had been supplanted by the desire to save the souls of others by teaching them dogmas and catchwords, when the warm, palpitating soul had been imprisoned in the cold steel chain of logic, when, as the Buddha would say, the heart doctrine had been obscured by the eye-doctrine, when, as the Sāṅkhya would say, the Adhyavasāya of Buddhi had been obscured by the Saṅkalpavikalpa of Manas, that the teachings of the Jina and the Buddha became degenerated into Jainism and Buddhism, two more sects which the self-regarding instincts of men have manufactured to the detriment

of the people of India. Then the councils of the Bauddhas were held and eager Bauddha missionaries began to beat the country, filled with the desire to save other people's souls and stimulate hatred in the name of religion. Unlike the Bhikkhus of the previous generations these militant missionaries utilized the political influence of Magadha for their propagandist purposes.

Aśoka and Tamil India :

But the Tamil country continued to be outside the domination of Magadha even in the time of Aśokavardhana. He describes the Coḍa, Pāṇḍiya, Satiyaputo and Kelalaputo as *anta i, e.* neighbours or borderers, when he speaks in his rock Edict II of his establishing among them two kinds of the treatment of disease, viz., the treatment of men and the treatment of cattle. In the rock Edict XIII he says he has won Dharmavijaya in the South (*nīca*), in Coḍa, Pāṇḍiya, as far as Tambapanni (*i. e.* the Tāmraparnī river). The Dharmavijaya consisted in sending ambassadors to preach the eclectic ethics, the composite Dharma, compounded of the teachings of Brāhmaṇa, Jaina and Bauddha teachers, which he delighted in preaching to the world. This has been mistaken by most investigators, ancient and modern, as sending Bauddha missionaries to various countries. For one thing, Aśoka never called his teachings, to all and sundry, Bauddha Satyāni, but always called them by the non-committal word Dharma. Secondly, if he wanted to advertise to the world his sending of Bauddha missionaries, he would have mentioned that he sent his son by Dēvī, whom he married when he was Viceroy at Ujjain, namely, Mahinda, as missionary to Ceylon, whereas it is the Mahāvamsa that gives us this information. It

was the third council that sent Bauddha missionaries to several places whereas Aśoka sent Dhūtas to effect his Dharmavijaya. No doubt, Aśoka respected Bauddha monks as well as Jaina monks and Brāhmana householders and Sanyāsīs; this does not mean that he sent Bauddha missionaries anywhere. Mahāvamsa, the Bauddha chronicle, is but a prejudiced witness in this matter. But we are not concerned here with this question. It is enough here if we infer from Aśoka's inscriptions that South India continued to have as active intercourse with North India in Aśoka's days as in those of his predecessors.

Modern investigators frequently speak of the great Maurya Empire and in later times of the imperial sway of the Guptas. These words 'Empire' and 'Imperial' convey quite a false idea of the political relations of Indian states to each other in ancient days. The connotation of the word Empire is such that it cannot be used in Indian history without giving a misleading view of the course of that history. The Roman empire meant the establishment of the Pax Romana, the gradual extension of Roman citizenship, the institution of Roman jurisprudence and the spread of the Latin tongue. The British empire means the establishment of British methods of the maintenance of law and order, the use of the English language for purposes of administration, the spread of English schools and universities, the wide extension of British commerce, the starting of Christian propaganda and the slow development of British democratic institutions. The establishment of empire in ancient India meant none of these things. The traditional 56 Indian states were mostly governed in accordance with the Dharma Śāstra, as expounded by Brāhmana teachers

from time to time; when a powerful monarch proclaimed himself the wielder of the discus', 'the holder of the one umbrella', 'the all-ruler', there was absolutely no change of the method of administration or of the hierarchy or personnel of officers, no planting of military colonies, nor even the stationing of the suzerain's armies in the dominions of the vassal king. It merely meant that a certain great person claimed to be the overlord of a number of states and this overlordship was acknowledged by the payment of tribute, yearly or occasional. The formal establishment of suzerainty was generally by means of the celebration of a horse-sacrifice. It was not generally preceded by a war of invasion but by the letting loose of the sacrificial horse in the charge of the son or grandson of the king and by fights for the recovery of the horse in case it strayed into the territory of a monarch who refused to acknowledge the overlordship of the performer of the horse-sacrifice. Thus the so-called imperial sway was due to the personal qualities of an individual king and not a dynastic affair at all. Hence the general statement about Indian empires being short-lived meaningless.

The successors of Aśoka were weaklings, political and moral, and his death was followed by the rise to fame of monarchs of other states than Magadha. One of these was Khūravela of the Kalinga country and his inscriptions give us testimony about the trade between Madura and his province.

Kalinga and South India :

By the irony which fate always provides, Aśoka's practice of Dharma led to the break-up of his Empire

soon after his death. Kalinga among other provinces became independent and its king (c. 200 B. C.) Khāravela possessed a reputation which extended to the Pāṇḍya country, for he got from thence presents of shiploads of elephants, besides horses, rubies, pearls and sapphires ¹⁰

¹⁰ abhuta acariyam hattināvan lāripuram u (pa)
 denḥa haya hathi ratana (mā) nīkam paṇḍarājū edāni
 anekāni muta maṇiratanāni aharāpayati idha sata (va).
 'Wonderful and surprising, elephant ships were brought
 laden also with horses, elephants, rubies. The Pāṇḍya
 rājā sent these, (besides) many pearls and sapphires.
 Hāthigumpha inscription, J. B. O. R. S. iv. 401.



CHAPTER XII

EARLIEST TAMIL POETRY EXTANT.

The beginnings of poetry :

Poetry generally began with the praise of gods and kings. Whenever a cult is established or a dynasty is founded, bards begin to earn the favour of gods and kings by singing about them. Omitting from consideration religious poetry, like that of the Vedas, we may take it that secular poetry in any one language begins when kings speaking that language achieve notable military exploits. Bards have always been semi-starved men, hungering for meat and thirsting for drink, and they have always tried to earn these by glorifying in song the feats of kings and chieftains in love and war. This was exactly the way in which the Tamil muse came to be born.

Possibly the earliest songs were in the unrefined dialects actually spoken ; but they have all died just as have perished the early Sanskrit ballads that must have existed for centuries before that language was rendered Samskr̥ta, (i. e., refined, conventionalized, brought under strict canons of grammar) and the metrical and other literary conventions of the Vedic mantras were born. For the Vedic mantras are not the "babblings of infant humanity" as Max Muller rashly described them to be ; but the language of the mantras was "a scholastic dialect of a class", "an artificially archaic dialect handed down from one generation to the other within the class of priestly

singers".¹ In other words the Vedic language was a 'devabhāṣa', not the dialect spoken by common men, by all and sundry from priest to pariah. Similarly the earliest Tamil odes we now have represent a comparatively late stage of literary development. Their language is not the spoken language of the common men but a strictly refined, conventionalized one. These early odes obey strict metrical rules and, what is much more remarkable, exhibit a highly complicated scheme of literary convention.

The Literary dialects :

I have assumed that the three Tamil dynasties rose to power after the pacification of South India by Śrī Rāma. Of the three dynasties, the Pāṇḍya dynasty ruled in what we now call the Madura country. This country is the heart of the Tamil land. Unlike the Śōḷa country which is almost all marudam (agricultural) and the Śēra country which is mostly kuṟiñji (mountainous), the Pāṇḍya country contains all the five habitable regions (tiṇais), where the five kinds of love-poetry, and the five kinds of war-poetry, each correlated to one or other of the tiṇais, could arise. It is no wonder then that Madura was the centre of the growth of Tamil literature and the place where the literary dialect of Tamil (Śendamiḷ) was fashioned. Tamil grammars speak of the twelve Tamil districts near the country of Śendamiḷ, where dialectical forms were used by the people.² A well-known Tamil stanza enumerates these twelve districts as South Pāṇḍya, Kuṟṟam,

¹ Macdonell, Sansk. Lit. p. 20.

² செந்தமிழ் செந்த பண்ணிடு சிலம்.

Tolkāppiyam, Śolladigāram ix. 3.

Kuṭam, Karkā, Veṇāṇḍu, Fūli, Paṇināṇḍu, Aruvā, the land north of Aruvā, Śīdanāṇḍu, Malayamānāṇḍu, and Śōla Nāṇḍu*. Śēnavaraiyar, a commentator on the Tolkāppiyam, however, beginning with the South-East, enumerates them in order as Poṅgar-nāṇḍu, Oḷi-nāṇḍu, Tenpāṇḍi-nāṇḍu, Kuṭṭa-nāṇḍu, Kuṭa-nāṇḍu, Paṇi-nāṇḍu, Karkā-nāṇḍu, Śīdanāṇḍu, Pūli-nāṇḍu, Malai-nāṇḍu, Aruvā-nāṇḍu, ending with Aruvā vada talai, the last being probably what was long after Tolkāppiyar's time known as Toṇḍaināṇḍu and was called the land of the Drāviḍas by northern writers.

This does not mean that the dialect of the Pāṇḍya country is superior to the dialects of the other twelve districts, as it is usually understood to mean, for one dialect is just as good or as bad as another, but that the literary dialect was first fashioned in the Pāṇḍya country and when this dialect was adopted for poetry in the other tracts they allowed local words to find a place therein.

The earliest poetry all lost :

Much poetry must have been composed before the rigid conventions that characterize the early poems that are now extant could have been evolved. The five classes of poems I have so frequently mentioned must have arisen, each in its own appropriate region, when the life of each region was fully developed, but before the migration of men from region to region began to obliterate the special characteristics of each tribe and brought about the deadly monotony of civilized life

* தென்பாண்டி குட்டம் குடம் கர்காவேன் பூழி
பன்றி யருவா அதன் வடக்கு — கன்றய
செம் மலாடு புனனுடு செந்தமிழ் சேர்
ஏதமிழ் பன்னிரு காட்டென்.

which thoroughly masks the compelling influence of environment on culture. All this ancient poetry is lost. The earliest specimens of Tamil poetry we now possess cannot be assigned to any date much earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. Why did all this ancient literature come to be lost? Though writing was known to the Indians so early as 3,000 or 4,000 B. C. as has been revealed by the recent excavations at Harappa and Mohenjo Dāro, we must remember that for a very long time writing was used not for literary purposes but only for recording the glorious deeds of royal heroes, as the ancient inscriptions of the Sindhu valley as interpreted by Lieut Col. Waüdel show. Even the sacredness of the Vedic mantras did not induce the Āryas of Āryāvartta to indite them except on the tablets of memory. Profane literature, I believe, came to be written on ōlai or birch bark only when the critic arose and pointed out its excellence and the desirability of preserving it from the lapses that human memory is subject to. Thus the much abused critic seems to have had a useful function in the evolution of culture; and in India especially he has been of eminent service to the cause of culture, for without the help of the critic, Tolkāppiyānār, we would not have been able to reconstruct a picture of ancient Tamil life. In the Tamil land, as in other lands, the early poets sang almost as unconsciously as the birds; and it was only after the Āryas not only settled in the South but began to study the Tamil language and literature and to investigate the grammar of that language as well as of the poetry composed in it, that Tamil literature came to be committed to writing and acquire the temporary immortality which calligraphy confers on literature.

The earliest Tamil literature has all perished. But we may assume that the first Tamil poems must have been short odes of a few lines each; even in much later days odes varying in length from four to twenty or thirty lines continued to be the only poetry composed. The odes of the Ten Songs (*Pattuppāṭṭu*), a few hundreds of lines long, first began to appear in the V century A. D. and long epics were composed only after Aryan literature had begun to fertilize Tamil genius. The earlier poems, however, were absolutely free from Aryan influence and continued to be so for many ages, notwithstanding the facts that from the time of Paraśurāma, the Aryan cult was followed by stray Southerners who were called, on account of their being Aryanized, by the name of *Brahmarākṣasas*, and that the Southern followers of the Aryan cult slowly increased in numbers after Rāma's war with Rāvāṇa and again after the war of the *Mahābhārata*. For the Southern Āryas and the bulk of the Tamils were, just as in Vedic times Northern Āryas and Northern Dasyus were, each too consciously proud of their own cultural achievements and of the superiority of their own ways of worship, to care for the other.

Freedom of early Tamil poetry from Sanskrit influence:

Tamil life pursued the even tenor of its course for many centuries untouched by anything Sanskritic. Very few Sanskrit words found their way into early Tamil literature, for the old Tamil vocabulary was perfectly competent to express the concrete ideas which alone appealed to the Tamil genius. The bulk of the Tamil people lived their life in their own old ways without

being affected by Ārya practices and Ārya theories of life. Hence there were two parallel currents of life in the Tamil country, that of the Tamils and that of the Southern Āryas, which did not mix their streams. The genius of the Tamils was utterly different from that of the Āryas. The Tamils accepted the seen world and were satisfied with the joys of the living present. The ineffaceable sex-urge and the delirious joys of fighting, love of women and hatred of enemies, respectively called *Agam* and *Puṇam*, were enough subjects for their songs. The Āryas, especially of the age succeeding the *Bhārata* Armageddon, were brooding over the vanity of earthly and heavenly loves and the greater vanity of wars, the fleeting joys of love and the dead sea fruit of the delights of fighting which turns into ashes in the mouth; they were constantly devising ways of escaping from the wheel of birth and re-birth, the contemplation of whose never ceasing revolution created in their hearts *vairāgya*, literally, lovelessness. Hence the *Śanyāsa* was developed among the *Vaidikas*, the *Vaiṣṇava* and *Śaiva Āgamikas*, the *Jainas* and the *Bauddhas*, with the hope that the renunciation of the evanescent pleasures of life would lead to the enjoyment of the eternal *ānanda* of immortal life unconditioned by time and space. The early Tamil poets were of the earth, earthy; they revelled in concrete images of the actualities of life as men know it: the post-Vedic Āryas were for ever forging abstract ideas which escape, like cotton wool, the grip of earthly minds, but are glorious realities only to those who have gone to the world where the sun and the moon shine not, not even the twinkling stars. The Tamil temperament was optimistic, whereas the Ārya temperament was pessimistic with regard to the seen world. The Tamils of those days were not

divided into rigid castes, but the Āryas were divided into four varṇas. The conventions of early Tamil poetry were utterly different from those of Sanskrit poetry. So the bulk of the Tamils and the Southern Āryas lived their separate lives without affecting each other's culture. Much of the early Tamil poetry is lost but enough remains to prove that for some time even after the beginning of the Christian era, there was absolutely no intrusion of Sanskrit culture into the minds of Tamil poets.

The Anthologies :

In the V and later centuries A.D., all that remained unforgotten of early Tamil poetry was collected together in different anthologies. Poems directly or remotely connected with war, numbering four hundred and of varying lengths, were collected into an anthology called the *Puṇam Four Hundred*. Early poems connected with love (*Agam*) were arranged in three anthologies, the principle of collection being the number of lines in each ode ; the shortest ones were cast in the collection called *Kuṇḍogai*, those of middling length in *Naṇṇai* and the longer ones in *Nedundogai*, or *Agam four hundred*, each collection again containing exactly four hundred odes. How could the anthology-makers get exactly four hundred, no more, no less, of each kind and whether they composed a few or rejected some to make the number round, are questions not possible to solve. All the poems in each anthology do not belong to one age. If we judge them from the diction, the subject-matter, the imagery and the allusions contained in them, it is not impossible to separate the earlier from the later ones. For instance, Sanskrit words are

almost entirely absent from the earlier ones; the customs referred to are ancient Tamil customs peculiar to the five regions; the fauna and flora alluded to belong to these same regions, the superstitions alluded to are Tamil, not Aryan; there is absolutely no reference to Aryan concepts, Aryan superstitions or Aryan poetic imagery; and above all, none of the earlier bards (*pāṇar*) were Brāhmaṇas. The latter began to compose Tamil poetry in the last century of the first half of the first millenium A. D., and though they strictly conformed to the age-long literary traditions of the Tamils, they were unable to prevent Aryan ideas, concepts, beliefs, superstitions, customs, etc., from intruding into their poems. It is desirable that some research scholar of the Madras University should take up this question for investigation and separate, from a careful weighing of internal evidence, the earlier of these one thousand six hundred odes from the later ones. But even without such elaborate research, I am sure that any one who reads these poems with care can satisfy himself that they cover a long age, at least as long as half a millenium, if not more.

The Agam Four Hundred :

Of these anthologies, the Agam four hundred seem to have been the earliest to be collected together, for its odes were made into an anthology by the orders of Ukkirapperuvaludi by Uruttira Sanman, who, according to the scholiast on *Iṭaiyanār Agapporu*], presided, though dumb, over the meeting of scholars gathered to expound those sixty sutras. They all deal with love, post-nuptial and pre-nuptial, chiefly the latter. Three of the poems are anonymous and the rest are by 142 poets,

some of them ancient, and the rest belonging to the IV or V century A. D. They contain numerous similes in which are enshrined allusions to the kings and chiefs who flourished in that period and are of use in reconstructing the biographies of a few notables, sovereigns and nobles. From them can be derived information about the daily lives of the people. The odes in this anthology vary in length from 13 lines to 37. The five topics of Agam, kuṟiñji, love at first sight and incidents connected with the cause of that love, mullai, neydaḷ and pālai, separation of lovers during periods of different duration and union thenceafter, and marudam, the disturbances of the even course of married love, owing to the interferences of hotairae, are treated in this book and the poems dealing with them are arranged in an artificial order. Odd numbers from 1 to 399 deal with pālai, 4 to 394, progressing arithmetically by 10 refer to mullai, 6 to 396 progressing similarly to marudam, 2 to 398 rising alternately by 4 or 6, i. e., 2, 8, 12, 18 etc., are on kuṟiñji, and multiples of 10 deal with neydaḷ. So the dumb boy, who was the judge of the different interpretations of Iṟaiyṉār Agapporuḷ had a sense of symmetry in arranging his anthology.

The Kuṟundogai and Naṟṟiṇai :

The Kuṟundogai differs from the Agam only in this fact that the odes comprised in it vary in length from four to eight lines and the Naṟṟiṇai, from 9 to 12. There is nothing in the subject-matter of the poems in the three anthologies to distinguish one from another. All of them deal with both forms of love, allude to kings, and chiefs incidentally, and but rarely refer to Aryan gods or beliefs, though they are full of references to

old Tamil ideas and institutions. In the arrangement of topics in the latter two, there is no particular principle observed. The *Nāṟṟināl* was made into an anthology by the orders of *Pannādu tанда Māran Vaḷudi*, and the *Kuṟundogai*, of *Pūrikkō*, both kings, probably, of the VI century A. D.

The *Puṟam* :

Under whose orders and by whom the *Puṟam* collection of 400 odes was made is not known. It differs from the other collections in several ways. First, it deals with the wars of kings and the gifts they gave to the poets who sang them. Secondly, dealing with wars, it also contains a number of elegies on dead kings and nobles. The first half of this anthology deals with the former subject, the next fourth with the latter and the last fourth seems to be a miscellaneous supplement in which odes discovered later on both subjects were thrust. Thirdly, to a large number of these *Puṟam* poems, colophons are added, noting the occasions when the poems were composed. These colophons seem to have been written by a person later than the one who made the anthology and who derived the information partly by a study of the poems and partly from tradition. This anthology is provided with an introductory ode by *Pāradam Pūḍiya Perundōvanār*, (*Mahādeva* who sang the *Bhāṛata*), a poet of the IX century A. D., who lived in the age of the *Pallava Nandivarman*, the victor of the battle of *Telḷiṅgu* (c. 830-854 A. D.)². This introductory ode is in praise of *Śiva*, describing this God as conceived after *Āgama* doctrines became popular in the VI to the IX centuries A. D. This *Perundō-*

² Vide my Tamil book on the 'Pallavas' p. 129.

vanār seems to have taken a great interest in the collections of the poems of an earlier age, for he has provided introductory odes in praise of Śiva also to the Agam four hundred and also to Aṅguranūru, in praise of Muruga to the Kuṇḍogai, and to the Naṛṇinai, a translation of a sloka of the Viṣṇu Sahasranāma.

Four other Anthologies of later poems:

Besides these four anthologies there are four others, called the five short hundred (Aṅguranūru), the tenfold Ten (Paṇḍirupattin), the Paripāḍal, and the Kali one hundred and fifty. These are not anthologies of floating poems like the former, but the first (Aṅguranūru) consists of a hundred poems belonging to each of the five tinais, each hundred being composed by one poet for the purpose of illustrating the rules regarding them; so the Kali one hundred and fifty contains five sets of about thirty each, in a metre different from that of the former, but composed with the same purpose. The Paripāḍal is again another form of poetry, and contains poems on special topics, like the river Vaigai, the God Tirumāl, or the God Murugaṇ. The Tenfold Ten are poems sung to celebrate the glories of a series of Śera kings. These latter four collections are characteristically different from the former four, in that these contain only occasional poems, whereas those were composed on set purpose to illustrate a set theme. The idea of composing poems following the canons of literary criticism as set forth in Tolkāppiyānār's Poruḷadigāram became current in later times. Moreover the poems that make up the later four anthologies belong to the time when the Aryan conceptions of Śiva and Viṣṇu and the methods of their worship taught in the

Āgas had established themselves in the Tamil country, or, in other words, the Tamils had been Aryanized in thought and culture. While these poems still keep up the old Tamil poetic conventions, their religious ideas are modified by those of the Āgas. Therefore some of the poems that constitute the four early anthologies are much earlier than those belonging to these later four. In a later age, when all these poems were thought to be old ones, these anthologies got the joint-name of eṣuttogai, the eight collections.

The Pattuppāṭu :

There is another anthology of ten long poems, called the Ten Songs. The Ten Songs are all long odes of varying lengths, the shortest containing 103 lines and the longest, 782. The earliest of them, called Porunarāruppāḍai, which sings about Karikālan in the earlier part of his reign, must have been composed a little before 400 A.D. and the latest, Tirumurgāruppāḍai, probably belongs to the end of the VI century. The gradual increase of Sanskrit words and the growing Aryanization of the country is very noticeable from the earliest of these Ten Songs to the latest and can be used as an auxiliary test of the age of the composition of each of these songs, in addition to the historical references in them. These ten poems do not greatly differ from the odes of the early four anthologies in poetic style and literary conventions and differ from them chiefly in the length of each piece. They are invaluable for the purpose of constructing complete pictures of the lives led by the Tamils between the IV and VI centuries A. D.

The Eighteen minor poems :

There is a third set of books called the Eighteen minor poems (*Paḍinenkilkkanakku*). The general characteristic of these is that they consist generally of stanzas of two to four or five lines each. Some of these eighteen poems were composed to illustrate the old literary rules with regard to poems of love and war and may be said to continue the old tradition. The others, and especially the chief of them, the *Tirukkuraḷ*, introduces into Tamil a kind of poetry, totally absent from older Tamil literature, *viz.*, didactic poetry. Most edifying from a spiritual point of view, but constituting from an artistic point view yards of dreary didactic poetry, unrelieved by poetic images, this new kind of literature was a blend of the teachings of the Sanskrit (*Dharma* and *Artha*) *Sāstras* and the super-terse style of the *sūtras*, totally foreign to the muse that inspired the early anthologies and the *Pattuppāṭṭu*. The age of this didactic poetry of the eighteen-collection began in the end of the V century and ran on to the VIII. To a modern man of the XIX or XX century all the poems above referred to are old, which means nothing so long as the word 'old' is not defined. Unfortunately it has become the fashion to treat these three groups of anthologies as if they all belonged to one age—of one century or so—and to draw unhistorical conclusions therefrom, which has to be deprecated by all scholars who desire to study the evolutionary history of Tamil literature.

CHAPTER XIII.

LIFE OF THE TAMIL PEOPLE 500 B. C. TO 1 B. C.

Love in the hill-country :

All the available references to the Tamil kings or kingdoms during this period in the Pali or Sanskrit literature of Northern India and Ceylon have been mentioned in two previous sections. A vast amount of Tamil literature must have been composed during these five centuries ; otherwise Agattiyaṇār and Tolkāppiyaṇār, as will be pointed out in a later chapter, could not have composed their wonderfully accurate grammars of the Tamil language. This literature is believed to have entirely perished ; but I think some of the oldest odes in the existing anthologies may belong to this period. A few of them are anonymous ; perhaps this anonymity is due to the fact that being very old poems, the names of the authors had been forgotten by the time they were included in the anthologies. Moreover such poems are characterised by the fact that Sanskrit words do not occur in them. Moreover the customs referred to in them are pure Tamil ones ; there is no reference at all to Aryan ideas. Hence they may be taken as relics, all too few, of this period. I shall now quote a few of these poems, each characteristic of one of the five regions (tinaḷ) of the Tamil land. These will enable the reader to reconstruct a picture of the life led by the Tamil people in those far off days. It will be found that this life was almost the same as that of the preceding and of the succeeding period. The spontaneity of love is vividly described in the following short ode. " What

are my mother and your mother to each other? (Nothing). What is the relationship between my father and your father? (Nothing). How did we come to know each other? Like the water which falls on a fertile field, the loving hearts have blended with each other¹. Then, as ever, lovers were inconstant. The love-lorn maiden had to lament desertion. "I am stuck up to this place. When the elephant frightened by the sound of the sling of the guardians of the millet-field leaves hold of the green bamboo, it shoots up like the fish-hook (when a fish has been caught); so my heart has gone to the place (where I first met him"²). Gossiping neighbours have ever interfered with the course of true love; and the foster-sister of the victim of love advises her in cryptic language to throw discretion to the winds. "The hill-chief, whose breast is daubed with sweet sandal paste, from whose neck hangs a garland of flowers, whose hair is decorated with the water-lily (symbol of love), and who comes to our house and goes away at midnight, longs for your embrace. The red-eyed terrible tiger stalks the frightened elk (i.e. the neighbours try to expose your

¹ யாயும் யாயும் யாசா இயதோ

மெய்தையு நந்தையு மெய்நுதைத் தேளிர்

யானையு மெய்வழி யறிதரு

செம்புலப் பெய்தீர் பேசல

யன்புடை செஞ்சுத் தாங்கலத்தனவே.

Kur. 40.

² யானே மீண்டை யேனே யென்வன்

மேனன் காவலர் கவனொலி மெய்திக்

காண யானே கைவிடு பாங்குமைழ

மீனெறி னுண்டலி னிவக்குங்

காணக காடொரு டாண்டொழித் தன்றே.

Ib. 54.

love intrigues). Hence this is no time for secrecy. Therefore, simple maiden, open the door (and let every one know)"³. The lover delays the celebration of the formal marriage which, according to the social-laws of the community, ought to crown the long-drawn course of love, and the foster-sister thus remonstrates with him:—"Oh hill-chief, in your country the clouds which have poured rain rest on the hills. The rivulet from the high hill wherefrom hang honey combs falls down with a roar. From the branches of the beautiful vēṅgai trees, in the morning the golden flowers scatter sweet scent. The handsome peacock covered with the pollen dust, along with its mates on the green crag, enjoys the rays of the young sun. To whom have I to describe the love-sickness of my friend so as to dispel the pain caused by your breast? Whenever you came to embrace her you spoke sweet words, but now you do not realize that you can save her from harm by marrying her and you hesitate to do so. To whom can I complain about this (but to you"?)⁴ These poems belong to the class

³ மலைச்சேர், அஞ்செஞ் சாத்தி ஓர மார்பினன்
கண்ப்பூங் குவளைத் தரும்பார் கண்ணிய
னநொன் வந்து கம்மனைப் பெயரும்
மடவர லரினவரின் மார்பம் சின்றுணை
மன்ற மனையா விரிய வேறட்டுசை
செங்க ளநிரும்புவி குழுமு இதனான்
மகறத்தற் காலையோ வன்றே
திட்ப்பங் வாழிலேண் டன்னைதல் கதவே.

Kur, 321.

⁴ பெய்றுபேர தெழிலி கையகுமலை சோத
தேன்னங் குயர்வரை யருவி யார்ப்ப
வேக்கை தந்த கெற்பணி கண்ணுட்
பொன்னி னன்ன பூஞ்சினை துழைஇக்

Kuṇṇi, i.e. those that deal with the pre-nuptial love, characteristic of the hill-country.

Lovers in Mullai:

Mullai, that of the wooded region, deals with the intense longing caused by the temporary separation of lovers. The lover, returning from a war, thus addresses his charioteer. "Our king has concluded his war. On the hill-streams the blue lily blooms bright as maiden's eyes. In the broad forests of vēṅgai trees which scatter their flowers all round, the humming bees spread in all directions. Our soldiers, after marching along the road straight like a long street, have stopped at different spots. The hoofs of the horses tread upon the thick petals of the white kūṇḍaḷ (Gloriosa superba) which look like broken bangles made of chalk. Have the crows shown omens prognosticating the near approach of my strong shoulders to my loving wife whose forehead is covered with beauty spots and whose words are sweet and who is consoling my son with stories?"* The pangs of separation,

சமந்தா தாமய கவின்பெற தோதை
பாசறை மீயிசைக் கணங்கொன்பு ஞாவித்
துறுகதி ரிளவெயி லுண்ணு ஈட
னின்மார் பணங்கிய செல்ல வஞ்சோ
யார்க்குகொள் துறைக்கோ யானெ பன்னுட்
காமர் கனிசொற் சொல்லி
யேமமென் தருளாய் கீமயங் கிணையே

Nar. 396.

- * இறையு மருங்கொழின் முடித்தெனப் பொறைய
கண்போ எல்லஞ் சினைதொறு மலர
வீதா வேங்கைய வியனெடுப் புறவி
னின்மென் பறவை யிண்டுவினா யிரிய
கெடுத்தெரு வன்ன கேர்கொ ணெடுவழி

however short, were, it seems, unbearable. Thus in the presence of her foster-sister weeps a maiden. "The sun is set, the mullai has flowered. The anger of the sun is cooled down in the evening. If I have to swim for my life, do you think that the flood of darkness is broader than the ocean?"*

Pangs of separation in Neydal:

With the Neydal, coastal region, is associated the longer separation which makes the heart of the maiden bitter. "My natural beauty is withered; my shoulders have lost their handsomeness; my soul is soured; I do not sleep at nights; my face has become sallow. Is this ruin the fruit of my laughing so as to show bright teeth and playing with the lord of the harbour, where the white crane cries, and where the waves break and scatter the flowers of the cool sweet-

யினைய நேருவனர் பசிப்ப வனையெனக்
காத்தல் வன்றிதழு கவிஞனம் பறப்பத்
தோள்வலி யாப்ப வீண்டும் வரவினைப்
புன்னறி ஆறிஇயின கொல்லோ தென்றிதித்
காதல் கெழுதிய உயத்த னேதில்
புதல்வந் காட்டிப் பெயர்க்குத்
திழிலை யங்குந் தேமொழி யாட்டே.

Nar. 161.

*. வல்லை கழிய முவலை மலர்
கதிர்சினக் தணிந்த கையறு மாலி
புயிலை வரம்பாக நீதின மாலி
னெவண் கொல் வாழி தோழி
கங்குல் வெள்ளம் கடலினும் பெரிதே.

Kur. 387.

smelling forest"? This is how the foster-sister consoles a love-lorn lady: "The young fisher lads whose work is hard desire to catch with their well-plaited nets shoals of fish, including the shrimp which has a soft head, thin as the flower of the cassia which grows in the forest. Like the cruelly strong hunter lads who get up trees for frightening the deer, the young fishermen get into the fishing boats and go across the wilderness of waters, capture the shark with the saw-like mouth and other strong fishes, cut them up and fill their boats with their meat. They return to the shore and unload them on the sand spread by the winds round the salt-pans. In the fishing villages near those salt-pans there will be a bustle when your lover arrives in his chariot." * The poet takes advantage of the conventional association

* தொங்கலின் நெய்வித்து நோணவஞ் சாது
யல்ல கொஞ்சமோ டல்குறச் சூழ்சாத
பசிலை யாதி விடையது கொல்லோ
வெண்குருகு கதலர் தண்கமழ் கானற்
பூமலி பொதும்பர் உன்மலர் மயக்கி
விவக்குறியை புடைதருந் துறையேன
மலர்கெயிறு நோன்ற கிச்சதன் பயனே.

Kur. 381.

* அத்த விரும்பைப் புலி னன்ன
துய்த்தலை யிறவொடு கொண்கமீன் பெதிடுயர்
வரிவலைப் பரதவர் கருவினைச் சிறுஅர்
மான்மேற் கொண்டு மான்கணச் சகைமார்
வெந்திற விளையவர் வேட்டெழுந் தாக்குத்
தியின்மேற் கொண்டு திரைச்சா நீத்தி
யான்வாய்ச் சுறவொடு வயமின் செண்டி
சிணம்பெய் நோணிய ரிசுமண விழிதரும்
பெருங்கழிப் பாக்கக் கங்கென
வருமே நோழி கொண்கன் நேரே.

Nar 111

of the sea-coast with the long separation of lovers and describes fisherfolk and their ways.

Long parting in Pālai :

In the kind of poetry called Pālai is described either the going away of the lover to distant countries which lie beyond forests or the pangs of the mother and other relatives when the girl elopes with the lover. A specimen of the former is this. 'My lover (though of a rich family) has not had the experience of the domestic life wherein the householder can cure the distress of beggars; he frequently praised my eyes, my shoulders, my cool, sweet-smelling hair and my forelap covered with beauty spots and was here till yesterday. Today he is gone, they say, to the treeless desert, which stretches vast like the sea and where the deer mistakes the mirage for water. He has gone by himself to the hot desert where the sun stays long and where the wild mango-tree grows on the brackish soil, where the alkali looks like the drops of butter which lie strewn on the pot made of clay and baked, in which curds are churned, the butter drops having been melted by the heat and made incapable of being gathered "9.

" கண்ணார் தோளுந் தண்ணறத் ததுப்புந்
சிதலை பல்வதும் பலபா தாட்டி
கொளுந் திவணர் மன்னே யின்றே
பெருந் கொப்பிற் பேயங் வெண்டேர்
மாணி லீலிடை மாணகை புறநூற்
சுமமட் டசும்பின் மந்தத் தின்ற
பிறவா வெண்ணை புருப்பிடத் தன்ன
யுகொழு சுளி யோணமயத் காட்டு
வெயில்விந் திருத்த வெம்பலை யருஞ்
மேருய சென்ப தாமே தம்வயி
னிசந்தோர் மாற்ற வாத்ரு
வில்லின் யாழ்க்கை வல்லா தோரே.

Naṟ, 84.

Notwithstanding the fact that love-marrriages were the norm, no mother would like to bear the pangs of desertion when her daughter elopes with her lover. Even if the mother did not disapprove of the girl's seeking her happiness in her own way, she would be distressed by the ridicule of her neighbours. Hence the following bitter laments. " The large-eared calf of the buffalo recently calved was sleeping in the stable where the pollen dust was fallen. She left us sleeping in the cool, large house, being intoxicated by the false words of her lover and desirous to go to his distant land. My daughter, whose eyes, touched with collyrium, looked like the blue lily, ate the sweet fruit dropped down from the young Nelli tree and drank the waters of the spring (and left me). May Death, which did not carry away my life so that I might be buried in an urn, before I had to go in search of her in the evening moonlight which looks like the strips of the tender palm leaf cut and spread on the ground, himself die and be buried in a large urn ¹⁰."

¹⁰. இரும்புனிற் தெருணம்பு பெருஞ்செவிக் குழவி
பைத்தா தெருவின் னைகுதலின் மடியுஞ்
செழுத்தண் மனையோ டெம்பிவ னெழியச்
செவ்பெருங் காளை பொய்மருண்டு செய்காட்டிச்
கவைக்காய் தெவ்விப் போக்கரும் பொங்கர்
வீழ்கடைத் திரங்கா யொருங்குடன் தின்ற
வீசனைச் சிறுநீர் குடியினன் சுழித்த
ருவனை புண்கணென் மகனோ ரன்ன
செய்போழ் வெட்டிப் பெய்த லாய
மாலிலிரி சிலவீற் பெயர்புறம் காண்டற்கு
மாயிருந் தாழி கவிப்பத்
தாவின்ற சுழிகெவற் கொள்ளாக் கூற்றே.

Nar. 271.

With the lapse of time abnormal manifestations of the love-instinct began to develop and become the subject of love-poetry (Agam). One was the extremely violent way in which a rejected lover behaved. This was called 'mounting the (Palmyra) stem', *maṭṭaṭṭaḍal*. Two odes of a later age may be quoted to illustrate this:—"If love becomes violent, they wear garlands of the unblown flower of the *erukka* (*calotropis gigantea*). They proclaim aloud (their troubles) in the streets. They do other things (such as committing suicide)"¹¹. "The young man mounts the stem of the large-headed palmyra, wears on his breast a garland of gems, and another of white bones, comes out in the streets so that others may ridicule him, giving up at once all shame. The maiden who walks slowly so that her cloth glitters, is still stern, notwithstanding my mediation"¹².

The playmates of an obscure maiden report to her:—"A man has made a horse, which does not require food, with the stem of the palmyra leaf, hung small bells

¹¹ மரவெண் மடறு ஞரீப பூவெனக்
சூலிழை மெருக்கக் கண்ணிபுஞ் சூலிப
மறுகி ஞர்க்கவும் படுப
பிறிது மாகுப காமம் காழ்க்கொலினே.

Kup. 17.

¹² விழுத்தலைப் பெண்ணை வினையன் மாமடன்
மணியணி பெருத்தார் மாப்பிற் பூட்டி
வென்னென் பணிந்துபிற சென்றத் தோன்றி
யொருநாண் மருங்கிற் பெருநா னீக்கித்
தெருவி னியலயுற் தருவது கொல்லோ
கலிங்கயி சைகாடைப் பேதை
மெலித்தில னுய்யிடற் கணமந்த னாதே.

Ib. 183

to it and tied it with straps. He has worn a garland of the short buds of the *calotropis gigantea* and mounted it and young boys are dragging the horse along the streets behind us."¹³

This kind of poetry, called *Perundinai*, is interesting because, after 600 A. D. when devotional songs began to be composed, it gave birth to a special kind of devotional songs called *Madal*, where the devotee is the person whose love is not accepted and the Lord, the object of devotion.

Ordinary life of the people:

The daily life of the people, other than the preoccupations of love, must also have been depicted in the poems of this period, but as they are all lost the poems of the next period are quoted below to help to form a picture of the daily life of the people, region after region. There could not have been much difference between the lives of the people in the two periods.

In the hill regions:

An idea of life in the hill country can be got from the following ode which embodies the hopes of the heroine for a speedy celebration of the formal marriage ceremony which is the culmination of a love-adventure.

"At midnight, the wide-mouthed bear, searching for food, on seeing a snake's nest covered with bent lines, breaks it and roars so as to frighten the cobra within,

¹³ சிறுமணி தொடர்ந்த பெருங்கக்க சிறீஇக்
குறமுடு பெருக்கல் கண்ணி குடி
யுண்ணு கன்மாப் பண்ணி யெம்முடன்
மறகுடன் திரிதருஞ் சிறகுற மாக்கன்-

and stands, drawing a long breath, like the bellows of the blacksmith. As at such a time he comes to me, I am full of fear for his safety. Hence if I beg him to marry me, he will do so without delay and take me to his house in the hill-country, where the elephant roars at dawn and awakes the hill-men who wear garlands of Vēṅgai flowers, so that they might take their bulls and thresh the soft stalks of the panicum and stack the straw on the rock which is as broad as the threshing floor of the agricultural regions."¹

"The demons are abroad and the village has not gone to sleep. The watchmen who guard this village and sing the Kuṟiñji tune so as to frighten the hearers, are awake. The striped tiger roars at the foot of the hill ready to fight the strong elephant. In the middle of the long night when the rain is pouring on the hill side, the serpent on hearing the thunder vomits out the blue gem it possesses. Though my shoulders have

¹ இனாதே சென்னைப் பருவா யேந்தை
தொடியசிப் புற்றம் வாய்ப்ப வரத்தி
வ்வரா நடுங்க வரநீக் கொல்ல
ஊதுவைக் குருவி ஊன்றயித்த தகழு
நொன் வருத வஞ்சகம் யாமென
வரைத்துவா லிரக்குவ மாலி னம்மலை
வன்றன் வதுவை கூடி நீடின்ற
சம்மொடு செல்வம்ந் சேழுழி மெல்ல
வேங்கை கண்ணிய செருதெறி களமர்
சிலங்கண் டன்ன வகங்கட் பாசறை
மென்றினை செம்போர் புரிமார்
துஞ்சுகி நெடுப்புத்தம் பெருங்க னுட்டே.

become lean for longing for him, I wish he will not come to me over such a road "¹⁵.

One of the duties of the girls of the hill-country was to watch the fields of panicum when the corn was ripening. That is why there were plenty of opportunities for meeting their lovers. When the season for harvesting arrived, the girls were confined to their houses. Hence the playmate of a maiden stricken with love thus laments:—"The spikes of the millet (have ripened) in this weather, when it is so hot that the wide waves of the sea look as if they would dry up. Our people will not only garner them but will confine you to your house. How can you wander along with the hill-chief on the black millet-field which lies on the side of the hill which smells sweet with gold-coloured flowers of the tall Vēṅgai tree, scare away the red-mouthed green parrot, bathe in his company in the mountain-stream close by, and daub on your person the paste of the sandal which grows on the forest near and is so sweet-smelling as to attract bees? I fear your love to each

¹⁵ கழுதுகாய் கிளர ஸூர்மடித் தன்றே
புருசெழு மாபிற் குறிஞ்சி பரடிச்
கடிபுடை வியனகர்க் கானவர் தஞ்சார்
வயக்களிது பொருத வான்வரி வேங்கை
கன்முனைக் கெம்பிற் குழுமு மன்றே
மென்றே னெனெழ்தகாம் வருத்தினு மின்றவர்
வாரா சாயினே னன்றுமற் றிவ்ல
வயர்வரை யடுக்கத் தெளிதபு மின்னிப்
பெயங்கான் மயங்கிய பொழுதுகழி பானுட்
டிருமணி யரவுத்தேர்ச் தழல
வருமுச்சுவத் தெறியு மோக்குவரை யாதே.

other will shrink and disappear. How shall we remedy this, my friend ?"¹⁶

In the desert-country :

"In the village of the arid country near the long hill whose surface is cracked, after sunset, they eat their scanty food and, not knowing the full downpour of rain, get dirty water from the pits in the rock belonging to the ruined village temple. At nights, dressed in red-dyed garments, with excellent quiver, the highway robbers watch the fearsome road."¹⁷ The most easily available food in this region was the wood-apple. "The tall wood-apple tree has roots which crack the soil, large boughs, and scales (on its bark) like those of the iguana. When

- ¹⁶ யாந்தசுசெய் யாங்கொ டிருந் டி பெர்ன்வீ
வேங்கை யோங்கிய தேங்கமம் சாரத்
பெருங்க ணுடனோ மரும்புனத் தங்கிச்
செய்வரய்ப் பைத்தினி யோப்பி யங்கரய்ப்
பெருவரை யங்கத்த தருவி யாடிச்
சார லாசம் வண்டிபட நீவிப்
பெரிதமர்ந் தினையத் தோண்மை மிறுதனி
யசிவபோலக் காண்பேன் விசிதிறைக்
கடல்பெயர்ந் தினைய வாகிப்
புலம்பதம் கொண்டன வேணத் குாவே,

Nar. 259.

- ¹⁷ பங்குட னடைந்த பருவாய் செடுவரை
முரம்புசேர் மிறகுடிப் பரந்த மாலப்
புலம்புடட் திண்ணம் புல்வென் மன்றத்துக்
கல்லுடைப் படுவிற் னுழி தத்து
கிறற்பெய லறியாத் குறைக ணல்விற்
துயர்செய யாடைச் செத்தொடை மறவ
நதர்த் தங்கு மஞ்சயரு நெறி.

Nar. 33 ll. 1-7.

the stalk of its fruits breaks, they fall down and look like balls left by children after their play is over on the green grassy plain which looks like a carpet. (The people of the Pālai) eat the fruit as their principal food."¹⁴

In the pastoral tracts:

In the pasture lands, the tenders of cattle led as jolly lives as the people of the mountainous tracts. "In the small (pastoral) villages with broad fields, the herdsman who tends sheep wears the white short-stalked flowers from the shrunk boughs of the Kurūshrub in the small dry-grain fields."¹⁵

"Her husband's cloth is well-washed, but, after he put it on, he (dirtied it by wiping on it) the thin fingers which are like the November flowers, with which he has stirred the thick curds and which he has not washed. He is eating the tamarind soup, which she cooked for him and on which she has thrown aromatics, after frying them so that the sweet-smelling smoke entered her lily-like eyes which had been daubed with eye-paint; and

¹⁴ பார்பக கீழ்த்த வேருடை விழுக்கோட்
 றிடும்படைத் தன்ன றெடும்பொரி விளவி
 னுட்டொழி பந்திற் கோட்டுமூச் கிறுபு
 கம்பலத் தன்ன பைம்பயிர்த் தாஅம்
 வெள்ளில் வல்லி.

Nar. 21, ll. 1-5.

¹⁵ கொல்லைக் கோவலர் குறம்புனஞ் சேர்த்த
 குறங்காத் குளின் குவியினர் வான்மு
 வானுடை விடைமகன் குடப் பூக்கும்.

Nar. 266, ll. 1-3.

when she looked at it, her bright face beamed with delight." ²⁰

"The lord of the land where sound the drums and the bull-roarer also, made by splitting the end of the stick of the bamboo, near the mountain spring which looks like liquor poured on a sapphire bowl, embraced my shoulders long ago in the white moonlight. Now the mullai bud has begun to smell sweet." ²¹

"The mullai spreads on the Kallī whose head resembles the king-fisher which grows in the pebbly Pālai tracts. The shepherd who drives to pasture herds of sheep with shaking heads, with strong hands plucks during the nights the sweet-smelling mullai flower and strings then along with the white young leaves of the palmyra; these garlands spread perfume along the streets of my village which are decorated by them" ²²

²⁰ முனிதயிர் பிணைத்த கார்த்தண் மெல்விசல்
கழவுறு கலிங்கங் கழாஅ துகடுர்
குவளை யுண்கண் குய்ப்புனை கமழத்
தான்றுழர் தட்ட சீம்புனிப் பாக்க
நிளரிதெனம் கணவ ணுண்டலி
ஹண்ணிதின் மழித்தன் னெண்ணுதன் முகனே.
Kur. 167.

²¹ மட்டப் பெய்த மணிக்கலத் தண்ண
நிட்டுவரச் சுணைய பருவாய்த் தட்டைப்
பறையிற் சுறங்கு காடன்
ஔஸ்லைத் திங்க னெடுவெண் ணிவலின்
மணத்தளன் மன்னனென் தோனே
யின்றமுல்லை முனைகர றம்மே.
Kur. 193.

²² பரற்றலை பேரபிய சிரற்றலைக் கள்ளி
நீயிணைக் கலித்த யீறு முல்லை
யாடுதலைத் துருவின் னெடுதலைப் பெயர்க்கும்
யன்னை யிடைய னெல்லிப் பரீஇ
வெண்போழ் ததைஇய வலங்கலத் தொடலை
மறுகுடன் கமழு மாலை
சிறகுடி.
Nar. 169, ll. 4-10.

* In the dawn when the darkness disappears the boys who tend cattle mount on the backs of the buffaloes and take them out to pasture. The boys leave their calves in the stall, so that (on their return in the evening) they could draw from the broad-headed black buffalo a large quantity of sweet milk "23.

In the sea-side region :

The daily routine of the pleasant life led by the girls of the sea-side region can be inferred from this ode sung by the playmate of the heroine :—

" Friend, may you live long! Tell me, flocks of herons after preying on the fishes in the dark salt-marshes, fly in rows to the nests built on the curved palmyra leaves and sleep there in the dark. To the white sandy plain round the groves of these palm trees, you go along with your playmates in the morning, pluck the leaves of the wet water-lily which has flowers smelling sweetly of honey and clothe yourself in garments of the leaves curved in different directions. You run about and play in front of the hut which is adorned with designs drawn with flour; you delight in looking at the red crabs, which run in pairs below the roots of the Pandanus, whose stem is bent and is beaten by the waters of the sea smelling of fish. (Tell me) what illness has made you give up these games "24.

²³ மன்ற வெருமை மலர்தலைச் சாரா
என்றிம் பரற்பயக் கொண்மார் சுன்றுவிட்
தீர்க்குறு மாக்கண் மேற்கொண்டு சுழிபும்
பெரும் புலர் விடியலின்.

Nar. 80, ll. 1-4.

²⁴ உரையாய் யாழி தேரழி யிருங்கழி
யிரையார் குருவி னிறைப்பதைத் தொழுதி

In the river-valleys :

The kind of life led in the river-valleys can be inferred from the following extracts:—" (The nurse) would take with one hand a broad, bright gold cup of white milk sweetened with honey and raise with the other a small thin stick, with flowers wound round it, and say, 'eat this'; the girl would run about, sounding her anklets filled with clear, bright pearls. The nurse whose soft hair was grey would run after her, but could not catch the child, who would run to the pandal in front of the house and reply, 'I will not eat it.' So playful was the child "²⁵.

வாங்குமடற் குடம்பைத் தூக்கிஞட் டெவன்றும்
பெண்ணை யோங்கிய வெண்மணற் படப்பைக்
காண வாயமொடு காலைக் குற்ற
கட்கம முலா தண்ணறங் காலி
யம்பகை தெறித்தழை யணிபெறத் தைஇ
வசிபுனை சிற்றிற் பரிசிதக் தோடிப்
புலவுதினா யுதைத்த கொடுத்தாட் கண்டற்
செம்பே ரிரனை யவவந் பரர்க்குஞ்
சிறுவினை யாடலு மழுங்க
கிளக்குப்பெருத் துயர மாகிய கோயே.

Nar. 123.

²⁵ பிரசங் கலந்த வெண்கவைத் திம்பாங்
விரிகதிப் பொற்கலைத் தொருகை யேத்திப்
புடைப்பிற் சுற்றும் பூத்தலைச் சிறுகோ
லுண்ணை யோக்குபு புடைப்பத் தெண்ணீர்
முத்தரிப் பொற்சிலம் பொலிப்பத் தத்தற்
நகிரைக் கூத்தற் செம்முறு செவிலியர்
பரிஞ் செவிலிதொழியப் பந்த கோடி
யேகன் மறுக்குஞ் சிறுவினை யாட்டி.

Nar. 110 ll. 1-8.

" You, ploughmen, who have yoked the buffalo and are ploughing the field, you have built up many stacks of paddy, which look like artificial hills. You open your eyes when the cool dawn breaks. Your hands hunger for balls of rice mixed with soup in which bits of the meat of the black-eyed varil-fish float. You eat to the full and go along with your wives to plant the seedlings in the wet clay "28. The daily duty of the daughter of the house was to cook food; and the lover, posing as a candidate for the hospitality of her parents manages to get a sight of her and incidentally gives us an idea of the house-hold arrangements in an agricultured village. " The soft-gaited calves of the crooked-horned buffalo are tied to every pillar (in front) of the house. In that fair house, delightful to see, my fair sweetheart, bright and buxom, of languid looks, who wears round ear-rings and has slipped a small ring on her slender fingers, has cut plaintain-leaves till her hands have become red; and as their stalks are thick, she split them in pieces, so as to serve as eating-trays. Her eyes are filled with the smoke of cooking. Drops of sweat stand on her brows, fair like the crescent moon; she wipes the sweat with the hem of her garment, and stands in the kitchen, full of love to me. Let those who desire food come in with

*8 மலைதண் டன்ன சிலைபுணர் நிவப்பித்
பெருசெந் பங்குட் பெருமை யுழை
கண்படை பெருது தண்புலர் விழியிற்
சருங்கண் வராஅத் பெருத்தடி மிளிர்வையொடு
புரையை யசிரெப் பெரும்மற் பெருஞ்சேது
ககர்படு வையை கழும மாந்தி
கேறு செறயி னுதமுடி யழுத்தலின்
னடுக ரோடு செறி.

me; if they do, this black, beautiful girl's eyes will not become red with anger; but on the contrary we will see her smiling, so as to display her small teeth, sharp like thorns, and fit to be kissed by me "27.

Village Administration :

Life in Tamil India in the early times was almost entirely rural. The villages in those days were self-contained in a greater degree than now. The village administration did not require any complicated code of laws; what by way of laws the people wanted was supplied by custom. Whenever any trouble arose, the village elders met under the village tree, generally the banyan, as the lower orders of people do even today and settled their disputes over a pot of toddy. The open place under the tree was called podiyil, podiyam, or poduvil, the public place, also manra or manram. Manram originally meant the village common. The

27 தடமருப் பெருமை மடாடைக் குழவி
அண்டொறும் வாந்த காண்டரு நவ்விந்
கொடுக்குறை பெய்த செழுஞ்செய் பேதை
செுதாழ் செறித்த மெல்விதல் சேப்ப
வாழை வீர்த்தடி வவ்விதின் வகைஇப்
புகைபுண் டமர்த்த கண்ண டகைபெறப்
பிறைநுதற் பொறித்த செறுநண் பல்விய
ரத்துகிற் நலையிற் துடையின ணப்புவந்
தட்டி லோளே யம்மா வரிவை
யெமக்கே, வருகதில் வீருந்தே செவப்பா னன்று
சிறியமுன் னெயிறு தோன்ற
முறுவல் கொண்ட முகங்காண் கம்மே,

cattle of the village were herded there.²⁸ A plain field was usually set apart for public purposes and was also called *maṇṇam*. To it 'soft-shouldered women' resorted.²⁹ In every (such) field the *Kuravai* was danced³⁰.

In this plain was planted the characteristic tree of the region. Thus we hear of the *margosa* on the plain which belonged to the *Pāṇḍya* and from which he got leaves to adorn his head with. Thus *Neḍuñjeliyan* adorned himself with the bright tender leaves from the big branch of the *margosa* on the plain, made into a garland along with the long vine of the *uḷiñai* before he started to fight with his enemies.³¹ "He bathed in the cool tank in front of his ancient town, wore the tender

கன்றுபயிர் குரவ் மன்று சினை புகுதரு, 'bellowing so as to invite the calves, (the cows) entered the common and filled it,' *Agam*, 14, l. 14. This line occurs without any change in *Kuṟiñjippāṭṭu*, l. 218. *Puṇam* 387 speaks of மன்று சினைபு சினை, 'rows (of cattle) which fill the common', l. 24. 'The murderous bull strayed over the common', *கொல்லேறு திரிதரு மன்றம்*, *Puṇ*, 309, l. 4.

²⁸ *Puṇam* 373 says that on the death of some heroes women ceased to go to the *maṇṇam*.

மென்றோன் மகலிர் மன்றம் பேணார். l. 12.

²⁹ மன்று தொறு சினை குரவை. *Maduraikkāñji*, l. 615. *Periyatirumolji*, 11-2-2-12, says *Kṛṣṇa* danced the *Kuravai*, in the *maṇṇu*. மன்றில் குரவை பினைத்த மாள்.

³¹ மன்ற வேம்பின் மாச்சினை யொண்டலிர்
கெடுங்கொடி யுழிஞைப் பவரொடு மிடைந்து
செறியத் தொடுத்த தேம்பாய் கண்ணி

Puṇ, 76, ll. 4—6.

leaves of the margosa on the plain³² and went to the battle-field. Other trees growing on the common, characteristic of other regions were the jack³³, the wood-apple³⁴, the alandahi³⁵, the jujube³⁶, the Alexandrian laurel³⁷.

The words Podiyil or manṇam, also meant the open place under the shade of the tree, generally banyan, where the village elders met to solve village problems. This tree was in front of the village³⁸. Even the late poet Māṇḍanār refers to its existence in his age³⁹, as it exists even to-day. When towns arose, kings built first, a public hut, then a public house or town assembly hall, and this was continued to be called by the same names. In them the out branch of a tree, called Kandu or Kandam, was installed and the god residing in that post was worshipped with beat of drum.⁴⁰ As among the Āryas, in these assembly halls dicing, which in ancient days was associated with religious rites, was conducted. The following poem is a des-

³² முதுர் வரலிற் பளிக்கய மண்ணி

மன்ற வேம்பி னெண்குழை மலைந்து

Pur. 79 II, 1—2.

³³ Pur. 128, I. 1, 374, I. 5.

³⁴ Pur. 181, I. 1.

³⁵ Pur. 325, I. 11.

³⁶ Ib. 34, I. 12.

³⁷ Naṭ. 49, I. 8.

³⁸ முன்னூர்ப் பொதியில். Pur. 390, I. 19.

³⁹ தொன்முதாவத்து தரும்பனைப் பொதியில், 'the place of meeting under the big branch of the old, well-grown banyan tree.' Agam 251, I. 8.

⁴⁰ பொதுலிற் துங்கும் விடுபுது தண்ணுமை.

Pur. 89, I. 7.

cription of an abandoned temple of the kind. "Once the long lines of evil-smelling smoke from the roasting of fish curled round the big curved boughs of the marudam tree growing on the fields. Now the village yields crops no longer, the god has abandoned the post in the temple where the drum was sounded and the offerings made, and the temple is in ruins; in the pits made by the dice once rolled by the grey-haired elders, the many-spotted jungle-fowl lays eggs."⁴¹ Similarly the *Narppai* refers to the water collected from pits in the ruined *Podiyil*⁴²; in the same anthology there is another ode which describes the evening as the time "when the demon, whose ugly fingers are like the over-mature fruit of the *murugai* tree in summer and whose throat is strong, jumps up from its haunt in the ruined *Podiyil* for the purpose of eating the food mixed with flowers offered to the god of the prosperous village."⁴³

*1 மீன்கடு புறையின் புலவனாறு கெடுக்கொடி
வயலுடை மருதின் வாக்ருசினை வலக்கும்
பெருகல் யாண்சி னொன்று யினியே
கலிகெழு கடவுள் கத்தல் கைவிடப்
பலிகண் மாரிய பழம்படு பொதியி
னையுழ தாளர் காயிடத் குழித்த
வல்லி வல்லக சிறையப் பல்பொறித்
கனா வாரண மீனும்,

Pur. 52, ll. 9—16.

மன்றத்துத்

*2 கல்லுடைப் படுவிந் கலழி.

Ib. 39, ll. 3—4.

*3 வேனின் முருக்கின் விளைதணை என்ன
மரண விரல வலவாய்ப் பேளய்
மல்லன் மூதூர் மலர்ப்பலி புணீஇய
மன்றம் பேரழும் புன்கண் மாலை.

Nar. 73, ll. 1—4.

In still later times a large-sized building was put up as a Town Hall, and it served also as a rest-house for poets and others who waited for royal bounty. Thus, "one side of the Town Hall (Podiyil), of many (wooden) columns, was a place of rendezvous."⁴⁴ All these places in the town were in later times used as resting places in processions of the temple-gods⁴⁵.

Now remains the question, who was the god who lived in the banyan tree, under which the village council was held, and in the post, Kadam, planted in the primitive hut, in which the village elders met? Before answering this question, it may be pointed that in the New Stone Age long before the times we are here dealing with, stone lingams were made obviously for purposes of worship. After the commencement of the age of metals (copper in Northern India and iron in Southern India), phallic emblems continued to be worshipped. What look like such have been unearthed at Harappa and Mohenjō Daro. They are of two classes—chessmen-like objects, varying in height from half-an-

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பல்காத்

பொதியி லொருசிறை பன்னி யாக.

Pur. 375, ll. 2-3.

மன்று படு பரிசிலர், 'those that waited for royal bounty in the Town Hall'.

Ib. 135, l. 11.

45 மன்றமும் பொதியிலும் கத்துடை சிலையினும்.

Tirumurugārruppadai, l. 226.

The Town Hall of Uṇaiyūr, which served also as the Hall of Justice, is referred to as மூதூர் மன்றம், in Pur. 220, l. 7. The commentator, however, interprets மன்றம் in this passage as செண்டு யெனி, 'race-course.'

inch to a foot or more and ringstones from half an inch to three or four feet in diameter. "Taken in conjunction with the circumstances in which some of them were found, these facts leave little doubt that there were objects of some cult-worship. One suggestion that has been made is that the ringstones were mace heads analogous to those found in Mesopotamia; but a more probable explanation, in the opinion of the writer, is that they were yonis and that the 'chessmen'—like objects were lingas. The yoni and the linga are well-known emblems of Siva throughout the length and breadth of India and there can be no question that the cult is one of the most ancient in the land, going back to a time long before the advent of the Aryans"⁴⁰.

To return to South India; it may be mentioned that Siva is in poems of the first half-millennium A. D. described as residing in the banyan tree. Puṇam 199 talks of the banyan tree where the god resides⁴¹. Other poems distinctly refer to Siva being the god of the banyan tree⁴²; though these poems belong to the times when Aryan concepts had begun to enter Tamil poems, we may infer that the god in the post (Kandu) and the god in the banyan tree were the same and that as Siva was not a regional god in the early ages of Tamil poetry

⁴⁰ Sir John Marshall, Arch. Sur. of Ind. Ann. Rep. 1925-26, p. 79.

⁴¹ கடவுள் எல்லாம் 1. 1.

ஆலமர் செவ்வன், 'the Išvara residing in the banyan tree' is mentioned in Śirupāṇṇiruppadai, 1. 97, ஆங்கெழு கடவுள், 'the god in the banyan tree,' Tirumurugāṇṇiruppadai, 1. 256, ஆலமர் செவ்வன், 'the Išvara settled in the banyan tree,' Kalittogai, 81, 1. 9, 83, 1. 45

he was then a minor deity and rose to the position of the father of Murugan and ultimately the Great God when the Śaiva Āgama spread in the Tamil country in the V and VI centuries A. D. Rudra of North India was, in inception, a hill-god and married a hill-chieftain's daughter. He naturally became the god of Yogīs who resorted to the hills for the performance of their mystic exercises. When he migrated to South India, the Śiva cult had attained a high development. But before that event, he seems to have been in the Tamil country a banyan-tree god, as he appears to be in the earliest available references in Tamil poems. Perhaps a lingam was planted under the banyan tree; otherwise it is impossible to see how he became the banyan-god. Lingams were placed before other trees as well, *e.g.*, the marudam, the jujube, the jambolan, etc., and these became famous shrines after the V century when Śiva-worship began to prevail and Śiva-temples were built round these trees; these temples have now become some of the most famous Śaiva shrines of South India. The posts placed in temple-huts were also most probably intended to stand for lingams, and, having been cut from holy trees, possessed the holiness of both the tree and the lingam-shape.

Rise of Towns :

Towns first arose as the result of the barter of the products of one tract with those of another. The salt of the coastal region was a necessity in every other region; so from very early days strings of rickety carts passed along the mud-made roads carrying salt (and also dried fish) into the interior right up to the hill country, and salt carts and salt sellers are frequently referred to by poets. Thus "the lord of the crowd of

salt-sellers who appears on the hill" is addressed in Agam⁴⁰. In the same poem is referred to the hearth made of three stones made by the salt-vendors when they travelled in the desert country⁴¹. To judge from the descriptions in the poems, very heavy handy loads were thus transported. A king is compared to the strong bull which drags with strength out of holes in the road (in which had sunk) the many-felloed cart which carries to the hill-country the salt which grows from sea water⁴². The carts were so heavily laden that the cart had to be provided with an additional axle tree, called the 'protecting axle-tree' (sēmavaccu). "The bulls are young and have not been broken to the yoke. The cart is overladen with articles of merchandize; so the salt-vendors have fixed the 'protecting axle-tree' below the (original) wooden one so that the cart may go uphill and downhill without disaster"⁴³. The strings of carts always attracted the interest of young folk. "Girls on whose forelap waved the leaf-girdle made of

⁴⁰ கு வ்றிற் றேன் றங் குவவுமணற் றேசுப்ப

Ib. 310, l. 10.

⁴¹ உமண்சாத் திறத்த வெழிந வடுப்பு.

Ib. 119, l. 8.

⁴² சுழியுப்பு முகந்து கன்னாடு காணத் மடுக்கு
மாரைச் சாகாட் டாழ்ச்சி போக்கு
முரனுடை கோன்பகட் டன்ன வெக்கோன்.

Pur. 55, ll. 6-9.

⁴³ எருதே யிளைய அகமுண ராவே
சகடம் பண்டம் பெரிதுபெய் தன்றே
யவலிழியினு யிணை யேறினு
மவண நரியுள் யாரென வுமணர்
கீழ்மரத் தியாத்த சேம வச்சு.

Pur. 102, ll. 1-5.

fully blown whole flowers of the water-lily which grows in the sweet spring on large hills and who have fair, cool eyes, and sweet smiles, mount on a heap of palm leaves in the garden where the gourds (pīrkku and āurai) grow in the cotton-strawed front yard of a small house surrounded by a hedge of forked thorns on which straw was thrown. The girls keep counting the carts in which salt-vendors carry salt "53.

If the transportation of salt was so heavy, we may well believe that other articles were carried on a much larger scale from region to region. Thus rice and cotton cloth were taken from the valleys to the drier region. The pulse and milk-products of mullai were taken to the region where wet-cultivation was carried on. The millets, honey and other hill products were carried to other regions. These articles were bartered in greatest quantities where the highlands (Mullai and Kupiñji) met the lowlands and the great centres of barter developed into towns.

Hence the first towns arose when the dry land (punaey) and the wet land (nanaey) met, i. e., at the junction where the river left its middle reaches and slowed down in the flat country. For this reason,

53 தீரீப் பெருக்குண்டு களைப்புத்த குயிலைக்
கம்பலிழ் முழுநெறி புரள்வரு மல்கு
வெந்தெழின் மறைக்க னின்றனை மகலிர்
புன்முக கவலைய முண்மிடை வேலிப்
பஞ்சி முன்றிற் சிந்தி வாக்கட்
பீரை காறிய கரையிவர் மருங்கி
வித்திலைக் குப்பை யேறி யுமண
ருப்பொ யொழுகை வெண்ணுப.

Pur. 116, 11, 1-8.

the earliest towns of the Tamil country were Uṛaiyūr, the capital of the Śōlas, Karūr, the capital of the Śēras, and Madura, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas. These places are situated where the cotton of the cotton-growing localities could be brought down and woven into cloth, for the weaving of which these places were famous in old times, as they are today. The flourishing trade of these places enabled them to attain early the dignity of the capital towns of the Tamil kings. No description of these towns from early poems is available.

Chief seaports :

The great foreign trade of the Tamil country during this period brought about the existence of numerous seaports, such as were described in the next age by the author of the *Periplus* and by Ptolemy. From a story in the *Bauddha Jātaka* quoted in a previous chapter we learn the Kāvīripattinam was the greatest seaport of the Śōlas in the first millennium B. C., as well as their secondary capital. Korakai, called by Sanskrit writers, Pāṇḍya Kavūṭam, the gate-way of the Pāṇḍyas, for a long time, wrested from Madura the honour of being the Pāṇḍya capital and retained it till about the time of Ptolemy, the geographer, who says that the capital was recently shifted to Madura. Korakai's importance lay in the fact that it was the chief seat of the trade in pearls, so much prized by ancient peoples. The chief Śēra ports were Musiri and Topḍi, from where pepper and other spices were exported to the countries of Western Asia, Egypt and beyond.

Kings :

Kings in those primitive days had little administrative functions. What little was required by way of

administration was discharged by village assemblies in accordance with hoary custom. The three kings, Śōla, Śēra, and Pāṇḍya, no doubt warred on each other frequently, but wars were more for displaying personal prowess and acquiring the status of a senior Rāja than for purposes of acquisition of territory. The boundaries of the three states were fixed once for all and were not altered during the ages notwithstanding success in arms. The three kingdoms met at the common vertex of the three triangles, at the spot where the Amarāvati flows into the Kāviri. At that spot there is a small temple, dedicated to Sellāyi—the dear Goddess or the Goddess of fortune—who enjoyed the devotion of all the three Rājas and the spot where it stands was a kind of undisputed no-man's land. A small river, which falls into the Kāviri there, and has the significant name of Karnipōttānūru, the river that marks the bundary, separated the Śēra dominions which extended to the west coast, from the Śōla territory which extended to the Bay of Bengal²². An artificial mound on the other bank of the Kāviri, traces of which still remain, marked the boundary between the Śōla and the Pāṇḍya kingdoms. The Śōla capital was Uṭaiyur down the river and the Śēra capital was Karūr up the river. The Pāṇḍya capital was Madurai, to the South.

The chief function of kings was to protect the land from cattle-lifters. Cattle was lifted either by predatory chieftains, the heads of Maṟavar or Kaḷḷar clans, or by

²² This is perhaps the Kāriyāru on whose banks died Neḍuṅgiḷi, referred to in the colophon to Pur. 47, and also in Mag. xix. 196. In the latter passage a battle on the banks of the Kāri near the Śōla frontier is referred to.

neighbouring Rājas as a challenge to the Rāja of the country. In either case the king wore garlands, both his own characteristic garland, viz., of Atti flowers in the case of the Śōḷa, the Margosa leaves, of the Pāṇḍya and the Palmyra leaves, of the Śāra, as well as the garlands of flowers symbolising the various stages of war. Besides protecting his subjects, the only other function of Rājas was to be surrounded by beggar-bards who eulogized them in their poems and were plied with food and drink as reward. The following poem, though of a later age, brings out these functions of royalty and is true of this age as of earlier and later ones. "Lord, whose bounty is never-ceasing and fights are terrible! your elephant looks like a hill. Lord, your army roars like the sea. Your sharp-pointed spear glitters like the lightning. Your prowess makes the heads of the kings of the world shake. This your faultless fame is nothing new....As the many rivers, which run down from the mountain, flow along the land turning towards the sea, so poets are turning to you"¹⁶.

¹⁶ ஆறு வீழை யடுபேர சண்ணளின்
 யானைய மலையிற் றேன்றும் பெருமகின்
 றுணையும் கடவென முழுக்குங் கடந்தனை
 வேறு மின்னின் விளங்கு முலகத்
 தரைகதலை பணிக்கு மாந்தலை யாதலிற்
 புரைநிர்ச் தன்றது புதுவதோ வன்றே

 மலையி னிழிந்து மாக்கட ளெங்கி
 நிலைரை யிழிதரும் பல்யாறு போலப்
 புலவ றெல்லா கின்றோக் கினசே.

CHAPTER XIV

FOREIGN TRADE FROM 600 B. C. TO 14 A. D.

Under Darius :

In 606 B. C. the Assyrian Empire was overthrown and soon after Babylon became the head-quarters of trade in Asia. The trading nations of the world—Yavanas, Jews, Phoenicians, Indians, and Chinese—took their wares to the Babylonian markets and the people of Babylon became so mixed that Aeschylus called them *pammikton hocton*.¹ There was soon established in that town a colony of South Indian merchants, which continued to flourish till the VII century A. D. Among the business tablets of the great firm of Murashu and sons at Nippur (in the V Century B. C.) we find records dealing with merchants.² In 538 B. C. Cyrus destroyed the Babylonian empire. His successor, the great Darius in the V century B. C. helped the development of sea-trade by partly reopening the Suez Canal which had been originally dug by one of the Sesostrises, about the XX Century B. C. and re-opened under the XVIII dynasty in the XV Century B. C. He added North Western India to his empire and this led to the revival of the ancient caravan trade across the Hindu Kush to Balkh and thence to the Euxine and that which skirted the Karmanian desert and thence went through Mesopotamia to Antioch. One important result of this was that silk first reached the West. "It has been supposed

¹ 'A crowd of all (sorts of men) mixed up.'

² J. R. A. S. 1917, p. 237. (Kennedy)

that the Greeks learned of silk through Alexander's expedition but it probably reached them previously through Persia."¹ This land trade declined to some extent after Darius. Alexander, after conquering Egypt, founded the city of Alexandria, which became soon a great centre of trade between India and Europe. The great conqueror then sacked the city of Tyre and ruined its ancient trade. This dammed to some extent the flow of Indian trade to the West. After the death of Alexander anarchy reigned in Assyria; a new empire arose in Parthia; Scythian tribes began their raids on Bactria. These events led to the decline of the overland trade. Ptolemy I called Philadelphus (B. C. 285—246) strove to take advantage of it and develop the Red Sea trade to the advantage of Egypt. The Suez Canal was partially reopened and rendered available for commerce. Various caravan routes, provided with wells and stopping places, were opened between the Nile and the Red Sea. Ports were established where the routes terminated. Trade was limited to these ports and supervised by Government officials who levied duties. Egypt to some extent recovered her former wealth and glory. In the procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus were to be found Indian women, Indian hunting-dogs, Indian crows and Indian spices carried on camels.

Greek Intermediaries : Consular Rome :

The Greeks were the greatest intermediaries of this trade of India with Europe, in the half-millennium that preceded the birth of Christ. One result of this extensive international commercial intercourse was that the Tamil names of South Indian articles of

¹ Schöff's *Periplus*, p. 264.

trade were borrowed by the Hellenes; they begin to appear in the works of Sophocles, Aristophanes, and others. They are *Oryza* from Tamil *arigi*; *Karydon* from *karuva*, cinnamon; *Ziggiberos* from Tamil *iñjiver*, (possibly through Sanskrit *śṛgivera*) ginger; *peperi*, from Tamil *pippali*, long pepper, since extended in the European languages to black pepper; *beryllos* from *vaidūrya* which was mined in ancient times in the Coimbatore district. The Romans of the earlier part of this age retained their original manly simplicity of life and did not yet hanker for luxuries. Hence Indian goods did not reach Rome in the early consular times. "What little trade there was, was not bought with Roman money, for Indian imports of that time did not include Roman specie. . . . Trade there may have been, probably was, along the old routes that had existed for hundreds of years; but Rome did not spread eastwards till the later years of the Consulate; Palmyra had not then opened its doors to adventurous Roman merchants. . . . Though Alexandria was taken by Julius Caesar in B.C. 47, the sea-borne trade must have been small in those days and very uncertain, being conveyed as it was in Arab boats along a coast infested with pirates. Whatever exports found their way to Europe from India at that period went probably to Greece rather than to Rome."⁴ These conclusions of Sewell's are based on the fact that very few consular coins have been unearthed so far in India.

Towards the end of this period, "successive conquests and spoliation of all the Mediterranean peoples had brought to Rome treasures as yet unexampled

⁴ J.R.A.S. 1904, p. 593-594. (Sewell)

and a taste for the precious things of the East was developed almost overnight. The public triumphs of the conquerors of Asia Minor and Syria glittered with new treasures, for which the people clamoured."⁵ 'The old frugal austerity had long given way before the attractions of luxury and wares of the far East were reaching Rome in some quantity at the end of the second century before Christ.'"⁶

In the beginning of the Empire :

Augustus conquered Egypt in 30 B. C. and he tried to develop a direct sea-trade between India and the Roman Empire. Strabo says that he saw in 25 B. C. about 120 ships sailing from Hormus to India.⁷ Embassies went to him "from several Indian states, for Augustus himself says that Indian embassies came frequently."⁸ Warmington thinks the Sēra, the Pāṇḍya, and the Śōla monarchs of the time, each, sent separate embassies⁹. This led to the volume of India's trade with Rome in the time of Augustus expanding to huge proportions. About this trade Warmington remarks, "when we examine the volume of trade between Rome and India, even at its real beginning under Augustus, we are confronted at once with a phenomenon which has always been characteristic of commerce between England and India. From the very start the Roman empire was unable to counterbalance the inflow of Indian products by a return of imperial

⁵ Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 5.

⁶ Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁷ McCrindle, *Anc. Ind.* p. 6.

⁸ Warmington, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁹ *Ib.* p. 37.

products, with the result that the Romans sent out coined money which never returned to them."¹⁰ Apparently at first a fraud was attempted to be made in the matter of the exportation of coined money, for, "of Augustus' coins a type showing Gaius and Lucius, his adopted sons, has turned up in numbers in India and these coins are nearly always plated. Ernst therefore thinks that they were struck especially for trade with South India where the natives (it was thought) could not as yet distinguish good Roman coins from bad."¹¹ But the Tamils proved to be too shrewd, for the silly experiment was not repeated. What were the articles exported to the west in this epoch?

Export of living animals:

"The Indians of old transported living animals by sea to the Persian Gulf and to Africa and China and were probably responsible for sending Ptolemy II his peacocks and parrots." The tiger presented by Seleucus to Athens and the lions exhibited by Sulla and Pompey, the one-horned rhinoceros exhibited by the latter, and the tiger shown by Augustus in a cage or a den when the theatre at Marcellus was dedicated, were animals, some north Indian and others South Indian, sent by the land-route; but the monkeys which several Greek writers have written about could have gone by sea¹². "The Indian elephant which was used frequently in war since Alexander's conquests, was first introduced to the Romans when Pyrrhus transported some from Epiros to Italy in 28 B. C. Whether the

¹⁰ *Ib.* p. 38.

¹¹ *Ib.* p. 139.

¹² *Ib.* pp. 147-8, 151.

Carthaginians used them together with the African species, and employed Indian mahouts to train both kinds, I am not certain. But it is to be noticed that Hasdrubal at Panormos in 25, used elephants driven by 'Indians'; So did Hannibal and Hasdrubal during the second Punic war with Rome; and at the battle of Rapia Ptolemy's Libyan beasts could not stand against the Indian troop of Antiochos."¹³

Indian hounds were much valued by foreigners. "According to Herodotos, the Persians of his time caused the supplies of four large villages in the plains round Babylon to be appropriated for the feeding of Indian hounds; Otesias also notices the Indian hounds of the Persians, and similar dogs were shown in the processions of Ptolemy Philadelphus. We have also a papyrus of the third century B. C, on which are two separate epitaph-poems written for Tauron, which had given its life in saving its master in a fight with a wild bear".¹⁴ South Indian hunting dogs were well-known for their ferocity. They were usually described as *kadanāy*, the fierce hound,¹⁵ and were kept enchained¹⁶.

¹³ *Ib.* p. 151.

¹⁴ *Ib.* p. 149.

¹⁵ *Agam*, 107. l. 11.

¹⁶ *தொடர்புமிருமலி*, *Per* 74. l. 3., *தொடர்நா யாத்த தன்னஞல் கடிநகர்*, 'the well-guarded, inaccessible place where hounds were kept,' *Perumb*, l. 126. The South Indian hounds were so highly regarded that a king who went straight against his foe was compared by a poet to the hound which rushes on game, *சென்னு பன்ன கருவிற் சுற்றமொடு கேளாமன்னர் கடிபுலம் புக்கு*, *Perumb*, ll. 139-140. For the use of hounds in boar-hun-

The hunter is described as residing in the forests and as possessing ferocious hounds¹⁷ which scatter herds of deer and run with great speed.¹⁸ The chief of the hunt blew his horn to summon his hunters and hounds to the rendezvous after being separated from them in the bamboo-forest.¹⁹

The export of parrots and peacocks which began in an earlier epoch, no doubt continued in this. Serpents including the cobra called *Aspis* by the Greeks and the

ting, Vide Nappinai, which says, 'In the path thickly grown with tall nāga trees, the small-eyed fierce boar rolls in the mud till its black back is fully stained; it then falls on the trap which consists of a half-sawn tree trunk to which a loose loop is tied. It is caught in the split trunk; then hounds swarm and kill it and tear its flesh. The foresters beat them off and take the meat home.'

போதிய நாகப் போக்க நன் கயிலைத்
சிறுசுட் பன்றிப் பெருஞ்சின வெருத்தல்
சேரு மரும்புற நீருடு சிவண்
வென்வசிப் பகலுயர் மொய்த்த வன்பழிஇச்
கோளும் கொண்ட கொள்ளைச்
கரணயர் பெயர்க்கும்.

Nep. 82, ll. 6-11.

¹⁷ காணுறை வாழ்க்கைச் சுதராய் வேட்டுவன், Pur 33, l. 1.

¹⁸ மான்சுணர் தொலைச்சிய சுடுவிதைச் சுதராய்.....
வேட்டுவன் Pur 205, ll. 8-9.

¹⁹ ஊதல் வேண்டுமாத் சிறிதே வேட்டொடு
வேப்பயி லழுவுத்துப் பிளித்தரின்
ஞப்பயிர் குறிலினை கொண்ட கோடே.

Agam, 315, ll. 13-15.

python were others of the living animals exported. Strabo saw in Egypt a serpent nine feet long brought from India.²⁰

Animal products:

One of the most important articles exported from India was ivory. The Greeks at the height of their culture used it for the exposed parts of the body in statues.²¹ Pearls were first "introduced into Rome during the Jugurthine war and made popular by the large quantities brought back to Italy by Pompey"; they "became common at the fall of the republic when Augustus brought back the treasures of the Ptolemies." In the "time of Cicero when pearls were scarce, one valued at eight thousand pounds in modern money was taken from the ear of Metella and deliberately swallowed by the son of Aesopus that he might have the satisfaction of swallowing a huge sum of money at a draught."²² It is also well-known that Cleopatra dissolved pearls in her wine before drinking it. Lac-dyed cottons were sent to Persia: "Ctesias records that to the Persian king in his time were sent fine fabrics dyed with a colour obtained by the Indians from very red beetles."²³ Silk reached the Mediterranean coast through the Empires of Darius and Xerxes, for the Egyptian records do not mention it. Aristotle gives a correct account of its production. Raw silk was imported on bobbins, before Aristotle's time. At Tyre

²⁰ Warmington, *op cit.* p. 157.

²¹ *Ib.* p. 163.

²² *Ib.* 163-9.

²³ *Ib.* 175.

and other places was woven a transparent gauze, which when made into garments, according to Pliny, 'while they cover a woman, at the same time reveal her naked charms.'²⁴ Among Greek and Roman writers there was some confusion between cotton and silk, both being called "tree-wool."

Vegetable products :

Besides Indian cloth largely imported by Palestine, Indian cotton was taken to Egypt "where the emperors possessed imperial weaving and dyeing factories, some worked by the priests." The Egyptians mixed cotton and linen, and wove clothes, the wool being of cotton and the warp of linen. Indian cotton was also used in Egypt for various sacred purposes. Many-coloured cotton fabrics have been found near Memphis at Panopolis and some of the fabrics contain Indian elements in their design.²⁵

There is some reason for supposing that pepper was the spice more especially in demand in Babylonia and Persian Gulf trade generally, just as cinnamon was that more especially reserved for Egypt; and that the most active demand for it came with the extension of the Persian empire under Darius. The trade was by sea (and carried in South Indian ships) and not overland; Herodotus knew the Dravidians (III, 100) only as having 'a complexion closely resembling the Aethiopians,' and as being 'situated very far from the Persians, towards the South, and never subject to Darius'.²⁶ The land-trade across Parthia and the sea-trade encour-

²⁴ Schoff's *Periplus*, pp. 264-265.

²⁵ Warmington, *op. cit.* p. 212.

²⁶ Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 213.

aged by the Ptolemies led to a great increase of the trade in aromatics and spices, which had already existed for untold centuries. The Phoenicians and Carthaginians, supplied pepper to Rome in this age. By the Greeks it was used chiefly as medicine, for Hippocrates, (V Century B. C.) who used many Indian recipes calls pepper the "Indian remedy" ²⁷; it was used for agues and fevers. Herodotus has no bit of folk lore to attach to it. Theophrastus, indeed, in the IV century B. C., knows it as a medicine, and Dioscorides distinguishes between black, white and long pepper. ²⁸ Ginger also reached the west and was used medicinally. But it was carried by Arabian intermediaries who successfully prevented the Westerners from knowing that it was an Indian product. ²⁹ "Gingelly-oil was well-known to the Greeks of the V century B.C. and perhaps before" and was sent from India. "It became of considerable importance during the period of the Ptolemies". ³⁰ Cocoanuts seem also to have been sent to Greece for they were kept in Greek temples as curiosities. ³¹ Sophocles speaks of rice-cakes; so, the Greeks got the grain and its name from the Tamil country. Timber was also exported for various purposes. Pompey exhibited Indian ebony at his triumph over Mithridates. The trade in Indian ebony was of long standing and this and other timber was taken by the Indian merchants to the Persian Gulf. Ebony was used for furniture and

²⁷ Warmington, *op. cit.* p. 182.

²⁸ Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 213.

²⁹ Warmington, *op. cit.* 184.

³⁰ *Ib.* p. 206.

³¹ *Ib.* p. 217.

³² *Ib.* p. 219.

statuary. "In the Persian Gulf, shews Theophrastos, men built ships of teak-wood of India, particularly of Malabar, Canara, Travancore," and other places."² The boats of the Arabians, called "sewn boats, known as *madarata*" were fastened with palm fibre, "i.e. fibre taken from the husks of the cocoanut."^{2*} In this period Indian stone of various kinds began to be exported to the west, but this trade assumed great proportions only in the next period.

An Indian cult in Armenia :

One curious result of this trade with Western Asia may here be described. It was the introduction of an Indian cult in Armenia. In the time of the first Arsacide monarch of Armenia, Vajarsbak, (119-127 B. C.) two Indian chiefs established a colony at Vshap on the Western Euphrates, west of lake Van and founded temples for the worship of Gīsani (Kṛṣṇa) and Demeter (Baladeva). Was this an outflow of Aryan culture from the North of India? Most probably no, for while the Puranas talk of Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva as being *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, there is little or no evidence of the existence of the joint worship of these two Gods as a separate cult in North India at any time; but early Tamil literature gives plenty of evidence of this. The former of these, under the name of Māyōn was the ancient God of the Mullai land and the latter, Vēliyōn or Veļļaiyōn, the White God, whose implement was the plough and flag was the palmyra, was probably in origin the God of the region between Mullai and Marudam where agriculture first began. The contrast between the black hue of the former and the white hue of the latter was a

² Ib. pp. 213-4.

^{2*} Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 154.

favourite image with Tamil poets. Thus, they are described as "he who carries the death-desiring plough and has the palmyra-flag and whose colour is like that of the convoluted chank-shell which grows in the sea, and he who desires victory, has a bird-flag raised aloft to the sky, and whose colour is like that of the fair sapphire well-washed."³⁵ Again they are called, "the possessor of the palmyra-flag whose complexion is like milk and of the wielder of the discus who is blue."³⁶ Baladeva was always intoxicated with the juice of the palmyra, which was appropriate to his rise in the palmyra region. The cult of Baladeva could not have been evolved in the Gangatic valley; for the palms do not flourish there and his worship must have risen in the Southern lower river-valleys not far from the sea.

We do not hear of temples dedicated to Baladeva in North India. But they existed in Kāvīrappattinam and

³⁵ கடல் வளர் புரிகளை புரையு மேனி
யடல்வெயர் ஈரஞ்சித் பனைக்கொடி யோனு
மண்ணுறு திருமணி புரையு மேனி
விண்ணுயர் புட்கொடி விரல்வெய் யோனும்.

Pur. 56. II. 3-6

³⁶ வானிற வுருவித் பனைக்கொடி யோனு
நேர வுருவி நேமி யோனும்.

Pur. 58. II. 14-15.

The contrast of colour between these two is frequently used in similes, e.g., Nap. 32, II. 1-2 Cintāmanī, 209. It cannot be contended that these two were first introduced to South India as avatāras of Viṣṇu, for other incarnations (except Rāma) are not referred to in early Tamil literature.

in Madura side by side with temples to Kṛṣṇa. ²⁷ Besides these there were temples where the images of Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva stood together. One such, that of Tirumālirunṅōlai not far from Madura, is described elaborately in No. 15 of the Paripāḍal collection. The poem is too long for quotation: besides it belongs to a later period than that we are dealing with here. The image of Baladeva described in this poem has disappeared now. Probably the temple was destroyed and rebuilt in later times when Baladeva had sunk to an inferior position in

²⁷ வாழ்வனை மேனி வாலியோன் கோயிலும்

நீலமேனி கெடயோன் கோயிலும். Sil. v, ll. 71-2.

'The temple of Baladeva who is white like the convoluted chank-shell and the temple of the great god whose colour is blue.'

புகழ் வென்னை நாகர்தம் கோட்டம். ib. ix. p. 10.

'the temple of the beautiful god, the white Nāga.' Baladeva, being an incarnation of the divine serpent, was apparently taken into the cult of Viṣṇu, when it absorbed the Nāgas into its fold. These temples were in Puṅar. In Madura was மேழி வலனுயர்த்த வென்னை நாகர்தம், ib. 1-9. "The temple of Baladeva who strongly raised the plough (as his weapon)." These quotations are from poems of a later date but yet the absence of Baladeva temples in the North raises the presumption that the white god first rose in the south. The names Vellaiyan and Vellan are very common in the Tamil country even to-day in certain castes; this name must have come down from the times when the white god was worshipped and his name given to the children of his devotees.

the estimation of Vaisnava devotees. In a very few temples now living, the image of Baladeva still stands. Perhaps these temples have escaped the ravages of later enthusiasts.

Whether the joint-cult went to Armenia from North India or South India, it came to a violent end. For St. Gregory, the Illuminator, in his zeal against Paganism led a band of Christians against the colony in the IV century A.D. In the fight that ensued the chief priests were slain, the idols broken, and the temples razed to the ground; churches were built and crosses set up where the gods stood. More than five thousand of the colonists became Christians and four hundred and thirty eight sons of priests and temple servants who remained obdurate had their heads shaved and were transported to a distant place.²²

The trade of South India to the Far East led to the beginnings of emigration from India, which has continued to our own days. Says Col. Gerini "From several centuries before the Christian era a double stream of traders and adventurers began to flow into Indo-China from Northern and Southern India, reaching the upper parts of the Peninsula by land through Burma and its southern coast by sea, and founding there settlements and commercial stations."²³ The Āryas (Brāhmanas and Bauddhas) carried thither ancient Indian culture and the Tamils carried on trade. The Milinda Panha refers to a Takkola (Takkolam), outside the limits of Suvannabhūmi, i.e., near the Martaban, which was a great trading centre of early times. The

²² J. R. A. S. 1904, p. 309-314. (Kennedy)

²³ Vide J. R. A. S. 1904, p. 234-247, for a full account of this movement of ancient Indians.

name of this place reminds us of Takkolam, near Madras, where a great battle was fought in the X Century A. D.

The great Han Emperor of China, Wu-ti, drove the Hiung Nu, ancestors of the modern Turks, north of the Gobi desert and then the silk trade of China with Europe assumed great proportions. One of the routes taken by this trade was along the sea-coast of Tamil India where the Yavana merchants from the gulf of Suez got Chinese silk from Tamil intermediaries.

Trade with the countries to the coast of Burma, Malaya, and China also developed in this age. One important article that was sent to the East was pepper. "It may be surmised that a steady demand for pepper existed in China before it arose in Rome, and this was one reason for the sailing of the junks to the Malabar coast in the II century B. C. and probably earlier."² Besides pepper, incense was sent to the Far East and exchanged for silk and sugar.

²² Schoff's *Periplus*, pp. 213-214.

CHAPTER XV

THE FIRST INTRUSION OF SANSKRIT CULTURE INTO TAMIL LITERATURE.

The first intrusion of Sanskrit :

Sanskrit culture first began to affect Tamil literature when Agattiyanār composed his Tamil grammar. This person was probably a very late Agastya from the monastery of the Āgastyas settled on the Podiya hill, who was attracted more by the life of emotional experience stimulated by the study of the Tamil literature of the Pāṇḍya country than by the emotionless mystic contemplation practised in his hill sanctuary. In later legends he was assimilated with all the Agastyas that preceded him and the whole lot of them were rolled together into one Agastya Rṣi. The Agattiyanār of Tamil literature, if we may trust the legends that have gathered round his name, was a very human person, capable of insensate jealousy and uncontrollable anger. But legends apart, it is a fact that Agattiyanār made a careful investigation of the facts of Tamil speech, and framed a grammar of that tongue. In doing so, he assumed that the categories of Sanskrit grammar, for instance, the existence of seven or eight case-inflections of nouns, were true of all languages. The facts that the languages of the world belong to different families unrelated to one another and that one family utterly differs from another in essential structure and that, therefore, into the frame of the accident of one language that of another cannot be squeezed, were

unknown to Agattiyanār. Sanskrit is a typical inflectional language with an elaborate scheme of accidence, but Tamil is an agglutinative language with a simple accidence; Tamil has a rigid syntax whereas in a Sanskrit sentence any word can occupy any position, because the syntactical relation of words to each other can be discovered by their inflections. These inflections of Sanskrit are made by working into words endings which have no independent existence as words and hence have no meanings themselves, but serve to indicate the relations of notional words to each other. In taking on such inflectional endings the root is changed into the base, and then the base undergoes profound and often internal changes: thus the base tad or tat, taking the termination am becomes tāsām; one of the modifications of the verbal root han is jaghāna: of duḥ is addok. These are the marks of an inflectional language. Tamil, on the other hand, is an agglutinative language. Its so-called inflections are (1) whole words having an independent existence as words in that language, like ōḍu, poruṭṭu, adu, eḍaiya, iḍai, taḷai, tṭai and all other terminations of the so-called seventh case; Tamil grammarians significantly call these sollurubu, word-terminations, (2) slightly decayed words, like oḍu, il, āḍu, a (for the so-called genitive plural, the decayed form of the plural pronoun avai), (3) two terminations which are so much decayed that the words of which they are the attrited forms cannot be discovered, e.g. ai, and ku; that even these two attrited forms have a semi-independent existence is shown by the fact that the plural sign intrudes between the noun and the case-sign, as in avargaḷukku, quite unlike how the oblique cases of nouns take the plural in Sanskrit.

Tamil and Sanskrit being so utterly unlike in structure, the categories of Sanskrit grammar cannot properly apply to Tamil grammar. But Agattiyanār assumed that the facts of Sanskrit speech ought to exist in Tamil also. So he assumed that there ought to be seven cases of nouns in Tamil as in Sanskrit; he translated the inflected Sanskrit nouns into Tamil phrases, cut up these phrases into two parts, i.e. the nominative forms of the nouns and what came after and treated the latter parts as Tamil case-inflections. Following Pāṇini he discovered or rather invented, seven cases in Tamil and his disciple, Tolkāppiyānār, following the Aindra, school of Sanskrit grammarians made it eight. Now if *kādalipin* may be a case of *kādalī*¹, why not *kādaliyedir*? At this rate Tamil nouns should have as many cases as there are adverbial and adjectival phrases derived from nouns in that language.

As he imported the seven cases of Sanskrit into Tamil, Agattiyanār is also responsible for importing the passive voice from Sanskrit. The passive is a definite inflection which all verbs, transitive or intransitive, undergo in Sanskrit. When transitive verbs become passive, it serves the purpose of making the object of the action the subject of the sentence, as when in English we say 'the lion was killed.' This way of speaking is useful, when the subject of an action is not known or is not intended to be mentioned or when the object has to be emphasised. When intransitive verbs were given the passive inflection no such rational use can be found for it, but yet in Sanskrit the use of the passive intransitive is more idiomatic than

¹ Nāṇūl, Mayilānādar Urai, p. 189

that of the active, though no special meaning can be attached to the passive use; thus, *saḥ bhavati* is the same as *tena lihāyate*, only the latter cannot be translated into any other language, for 'he is been' is absurd even in English, though it is allied to Sanskrit. Agattiyanār imposed the passive construction on Tamil; even he could not transfer the passive intransitive into Tamil, though he could translate *tīdyate* into *aḍikkaputtān*, agglutinating the verb *paḍu*, to the past participle of *aḍi*. *Aḍikkappaḍu*, if analysed into *aḍikka*, while (*another man*) beats, and *paḍu*, let *you* suffer, is seen to be opposed to the genius of Tamil, for compounding two verbs into one and assuming different persons to be the subjects of the two elements of the compound verb is violating both logic and grammar which is based on logic at least so far as Tamil is concerned. The true Tamil idiom for 'undergoing beating' is *aḍi paḍu* or *aḍiyuṇ*, where the first part of the compound is an abstract noun. Agattiyanār invented this passive, because it was necessary for translating the Sanskrit passive verbs into Tamil and it proved so useful for men who think in Sanskrit and write in Tamil that Agattiyanār's disciple, Tolkāppiyānār, begins his grammar with a pseudo-passive.* This pseudo-passive which no Tamil man ever uses in natural Tamil speech, but which was invented to enable Sanskritists to translate easily from Sanskrit into Tamil, has, in our days, become very fashionable in written Tamil, because we have learnt to think in English (which revels in passive forms) and write in Tamil. This barbarous form in *paḍu* mars every page of the Tamil

* அடிபடுதல். Tolkāppiyam i. i. i.

translation of the Bible, and unfortunately the Tamil composition of pandits.

These are some of the first intrusions of Sanskrit culture into Tamil. The next was the introduction of words, concepts, poetic imagery, tales, mythological and otherwise, beliefs, superstitions and scientific, moral and religious teaching, prosody, forms of poetry and so on. As time passed, the invasion of Sanskrit culture gathered so much volume that Tamil literature became entirely dominated by that of the Northerners so much that to the man used only to later Tamil literature, the older seems, on account of its language, devoid of Sanskrit terms and of its natural (instead of the later artificial) imagery, as strange as if it were an alien one.

Agattiyanār's grammar, called after him *Agattiyam*, is not extant now but the grammar composed by his pupil, *Tṛṇadhūmāgni*, son of a *Jamadagni*, more familiarly known as *Tolkāppiyānār*, is still extant. It is professedly based on the *Agattiyam*. The speciality of these Tamil grammars is that they deal not only with phonetics, accidence and prosody, but also with the subject-matter of poetry. These *Brāhmaṇa* authors found that Tamil poetry was so utterly different from Sanskrit poetry in subject-matter and literary conventions that they thought it necessary to include in their grammar a discussion of these subjects also. The later chapters of the *Tolkāppiyam*, as *Tṛṇadhūmāgni*'s book is called, after the Tamil name of the author, deal with every kind of incident in the course of love and war, (*Āgam* and *Puṇam*) about which alone the ancient Tamil poets sang in their peculiar way. From the latter part of the *Tolkāppiyam*, called *Poruḷadigāram*, can be

constructed a full picture of the type of life led by the Tamil people long before they came into intimate contact with the Aryans and of Tamil literature before the Tamil mind was subjugated by Sanskrit literature.

Such a picture would be complementary to that which I have given in my *Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture* and is given in my forthcoming book on the *Ancient Tamils* as depicted in the *Poruḷadigāram* of the *Tolkāppiyam*.

Intrusion of Aryan ideas in *Poruḷadigāram*.

Not that *Tolkāppiyānār* rises above the temptation of importing Aryan ideas into his grammar of Tamil poetry. He does strictly follow the Tamil poems, extant in his time and now all but extinct, in describing the conventions of ancient Tamil poetry. But often he is oppressed by his knowledge of Sanskrit literature and his belief that the Aryan social polity and religious system were divinely appointed ones. Thus to *Tolkāppiyānār* the ideal social organisation was the division of people into four *varṇas*, with the three higher enjoying besides social privileges, the literary privilege of being heroes of poems. But in the Tamil poetry which he studied, he found that chiefs of hunting and fishing tribes, very low persons in the Aryan scheme, were the heroes of love-poems. His attempts to explain this anomaly are lame and hesitating. Again there were eight recognized forms of marriage in the *Laws of the Āryas*, and but only two in Tamil poems. He tries unsuccessfully to equate the two systems. He tries, again, to fit the Tamil scheme of life whose interests were only love and war, with the Aryan one which has as aims *Dharma*, *Artha*, *Kāma* and *Mokṣa*, though Tamil *Agam* is a wider concept than *Kāma*, and

Dharma, Artha and Mōkṣa cannot be squeezed into Puṇam, as many latter-day commentators have also vainly attempted to do. Tolkāppīyanār, again, describes forms of literature in the last chapter of Poruḷadigāram, e.g. sūtras, which did not exist in his time in Tamil, but of which there were many Sanskrit examples known to him. In this and other cases he imposes on his grammar of Tamil poetry what did not belong to it and it is not surprising that wherever Tolkāppīyanār does so, his commentators are not able to give illustrations of his rules from Tamil literature. Two other Aryan ideas Tolkāppīyanār forces in Tamil will be mentioned presently when his date is discussed.

The entry of Sanskrit words into Tamil:

Agattiyanār and Tolkāppīyanār introduced into Tamil a few tadbhavas, i.e. Sanskrit words which have been fitted into the phonetic framework of Tamil. They are found in the few Jūttirams of Agattiyam that are quoted in the commentaries of the mediæval age and in the grammar of Tolkāppīyanār, but Agattiyanār respected the genius of Tamil sufficiently, to invent Tamil words for most of the technical terms of grammar. The percentage of words borrowed from Sanskrit is few or nil in the earliest extant poems, but goes on gradually increasing as time passes; so much so that the percentage of Sanskrit words in a poem may be taken to be roughly indicative of its age. Though thus Sanskrit words got in more and more into Tamil, the conventions of Tamil literature, which form the subject of the greater part of the Poruḷadigāram of the Tolkāppīyam, were adhered to till the VI century A. D.

The Age of Agattiyanār :

What was the age of Agattiyanār and his disciple, Tolkāppiyānār? Agattiyanār's grammar is not now extant, but Tolkāppiyānār quotes him frequently; wherever in the latter the word 'enba', 'says (he)' occurs it is invariably explained by the commentators as 'says (the teacher)'. Tolkāppiyānār begins his grammar with the statement, "what are called 'eḷuttu' are, says the teacher, thirty beginning with 'a' and ending with 'na'.³ Hence we may presume that Agattiyanār began his grammar with enumerating Tamil letters as thirty. The word eḷuttu is used in a peculiar sense by Tamil grammarians. It names a concept which includes the sound of a unit syllable, and the sign that represents it. The former is called olivāḍiveḷuttu, the eḷuttu that has the form of a sound and the latter varivāḍiveḷuttu, the eḷuttu that has the form of a figure made of (straight or curved) lines (the figure being not necessarily a closed one). It is impossible to translate the word eḷuttu into English, because there is no word in that language covering both concepts, letter and sound. The word akṣara is also used by the Sanskritists in this double sense; but the Tamil word eḷuttu is not a translation of the word akṣara, the latter word having reference to the Mīmāṃsaka and Vaiyākarnika theories of the eternity of sound conceived as the etheric (ākāśa) substrate of the vibrations of air which produce audible sound.

³ எழுத்தெனப் படுப

அஃஃருத

எகர விநவசம் முப்பன் தென்ப.

As Agattiyanār treats of Tamil letters, Tamil writing must have existed in his time. We know that the Tamil alphabet, like every alphabet now current in India, except the Arabic alphabet used for Urdu, was evolved from the Aśokan script to which the name Brāhmī has been given. In the cave inscriptions of the Pāṇḍyan country we have examples of the earliest specimens, so far found, of Tamil words committed to writing. These inscriptions were incised at the instance of Jaina or Bauddha monks who resided in the natural caves of the Tamil country, far from the madding crowd, in peaceful contemplation calculated to lead them to the eternal bliss of Nirvāṇa. These inscriptions are not only the earliest specimens of Tamil writing we have, but the first tentative attempts to adapt the letters of the Brāhmī, or more correctly the South Maurya script, to the writing of Tamil. They do not distinguish between the pure consonant and the same followed by 'a' to become an easily pronounceable syllable⁴ i.e., the dot on the top of a consonant had not yet been invented; but they possess signs for the consonant sounds peculiar to Tamil, like 'ḷ' the retroflex rolled sound, 'ṛ' which when doubled is sounded 'ṛṛ' and when preceded by the nasal becomes 'ṇṛ,' and the two-looped 'n' which alone indicated the nasal which precedes 'ṛ' and is, in modern pronunciation, indistinguishable from the dental nasal. Thus so far as the available evidence goes, Tamil was first committed to writing late in the III century or early in the II century B. C., by foreign emigrants who were inveterate makers of stone inscrip-

⁴ As Tolkappiyanār has said, மெய்யி னரிமக மகரமொடு சிறுந். 'Consonants are pronounced when accompanied by the sound a.' Tolkappiyam I, ii, 13.

tions. The non-existence of a separate alphabet for writing Tamil literature was why Tamil poetry, which must have been composed in large quantities long before the Christian era, has irrecoverably perished. I therefore hold that Agattiyanār could not have lived before the I century B. C., when Tamil writing must have begun to be commonly used. A study of the Tolkāppiyam compels us to believe that master and pupil must have lived, a century or more, later. Tolkāppiyānār uses the word *ōrai* in the sense of an hour (auspicious for marital and other pleasant purposes) *. The Tamil word *ōrai*, like the English word hour, is derived ultimately from the Greek word *hora*. *Hora* meant in Greek in the V century B. C. 'season in general' and it was in the II century B. C. that it was endowed with the meaning of the twenty-fourth part of a day, each such twenty-fourth part being under the rule of one of the seven planets. The word *hora* travelled with its astrological implications to Gāndhāra which was ruled in the second and first centuries B. C. by Greek monarchs. From there it got into Sanskrit, when Sanskrit authors learnt Greek astrology. It then travelled down South and entered Tamil. Surely it will be a modest estimate if we assume that *ōrai* could not have got into Tamil before the I century A.D., which must be the upper limit of the age of Tolkāppiyānār. Only we must remember that though Tolkāppiyānār uses the word *ōrai* in his grammar, the bulk of the Tamils, I mean, those

* மறைந்த பொழுக்கத் தோறாய் நாளும்

அறந்த பொழுக்கம் இழையோர்ச் சிவ்வை.

'The rule that love passages ought to be given up on (unauspicious) hours and days does not apply to the hero of secret love.' Tol. III, iii. 44.

who were not Brāhmaṇas, were dominated by Aryan culture and therefore could have acquired a knowledge of, or belief in, planetary astrology, at a much later date than the age of Tolkāppiyānār. Connected with this astrology is the question of the week of seven days, each day being named after the planet who ruled the first hour of the day; hence the planetary names of the days of the week do not appear in Tamil poems till the end of the V century A.D.

There is another fact derived from the Poruḷaḍigāram of the Tolkāppiyam which can serve to fix the date of Tolkāppiyānār. Chief among the Pāṅgar, companions of a chief and his helpers in his love-campaigns, Tolkāppiyānār names the pārppār, Brāhmaṇas.* Thus Tolkāppiyānār contemplates the employment of Brāhmaṇas as chief ministers of Love. This was a convention of the Sanskrit Drama; and I take it that Tolkāppiyānār refers to it as a matter of theory and not as one of fact, for we do not find any allusion to it in Agam or in Puṇam. The word pārppār† occurs four times in Puṇam; there are ten other references to andanar or to their lore. But these allude to their vedic scholarship, their sacrificial

* Tol. III, vii, 189, 190, 197.

† பார்ப்பார்த் தப்பிய சொடுமை, 'the cruel deed of harassing a Brāhmaṇa, Pur. 34, l. 3, பார்ப்பாச் சொலன், 'what pain Brāhmaṇas', Ib. 43, l. 14.

பார்ப்பார்க் கீர்ந்துக நிறைய, 'so as to fill the wet hands of Brahmanas, Ib. 367, l. 1.

ஆளியத் பார்ப்பன மாக்களும், 'Brāhmaṇas, of the same nature as cows,' Pur. 9, l. 1. The other references are, Pur. 2, l. 32, 6, l. 20, 9, l. 1, 26, l. 13, 93, l. 7, 126, l. 11, 200, l. 14, 224, l. 9, 361, l. 4, 262, l. 8.

fire, the gifts received by them, but not to their services as gobetweens. There is one reference in *Agam** to a *pārypān* who does not perform sacrifices and another to a *Brāhmaṇa* messenger set on by thieves and one in *Kuṇḍogai*† to his appurtenances as a bachelor, but none to his function as minister of Love. As *Tolkāppīyanār* has transferred this convention from Sanskrit drama to Tamil poetry, he must have lived sometime after the formal drama was developed in Sanskrit. *Bhāsa* is our earliest Sanskrit poet and he can not belong to an age earlier than the III century B.C.; and it must have taken some time for the literary convention of the Sanskrit drama to reach South India, to enable *Tolkāppīyanār* to include it in his grammar.

The contribution of *Agattiyanār* to the growth of Tamil culture consisting as it did of pioneer work, withal perfect, on its grammar, rhetoric and poetics was a remarkable performance. But ancient legendmakers and modern historical investigators have attempted to paint the lily by attributing to him marvellous performances. Thus Tamil legend says that he learnt Tamil from *Siva* or *Subrahmanya* and taught the language to the Tamil people, who were, I suppose, dumb till *Agastya* appeared in their midst. *D. R. Bhandarkar* says that *Agastya* penetrated "farther and farther into the hitherto unknown South and civilizing

* *வேளாப் பார்ப்பான்*. *Agam*, 24. l. 1. *அதொய்ப் பார்ப்பான்*, ...

தமிழ்நாடன் வீழ்த்த கடுங்கண் மழுவர்.

Ib. 337, l. 7, 11.

These poems are all by the latest of poets of the period.

† *Kuṇḍogai*, 156.

the Dravidians."¹⁰ T. R. Ramakrishna Sastri, speaks of Agastya's reformation and reorganization of the social and literary life of the Tamils.¹¹ All this is pure myth. Agastya found a fully developed literature with literary conventions of its own, unalterable because they were based on the conditions of the environment in which the people lived and grew; he also found a language with a perfected literary dialect and he wrote out the grammar of that language and that literature, and no more.

There must have been numerous poets before the time of Agastya for he could not otherwise have composed a grammar of poetry, not to speak of the grammar of *Sendurai*, the refined literary dialect. The momentum gathered by the poems of the *Puram* and *Agam* class (*Purattinai* and *Agattinai*) during the ages which intervened between the rise of Tamil poetry and the period of Agattiyanār, carried on that class of literature to five centuries after his time, when the old literature began collapse and a new Tamil literature inspired by the Sanskrit muse was born and largely eclipsed the older fashion of poems. Later legend said that Agattiyanār invented Tamil; there is this kernel of truth in this legend that later Tamil literature was the ultimate result of the intrusion of Aryan literature into Tamil under the auspices of this first grammarian of the language. Therefore one would expect that Tamil would make a big contribution to the store of Agastya

¹⁰ Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 18.

¹¹ Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Oriental Conference, 1924, p. 205.

legends. But it is disappointing to find that the Tamil contribution of Agastya legends is very poor. In the *Kurundogai* and the *Narṇinai*, I have not been able to find any. In the *Puṇam* there is one reference to Podiya hill as the seat of the performers of the Vedic yajñas. That is an allusion to the light of the triple fire on the gold-topped Himalayas and the Podiya¹². No reference to the Podiya hill in the *Agam* and the *Puṇam* alludes to Agastya, the hill being described in seven passages merely as belonging to the Pāṇḍya. This is probably due to the fact that as the age of Agattiyanār was very near to that of the earlier poems of the four early anthologies, they regarded him but as a mere man, and a grammarian, and not a Rṣi.

A passage in *Maduraikkāṇṇi*, a long poem in praise of the Pāṇḍya, Neḍuṇṇeliyan by his favourite poet, Māṇḍuḍi Marudanār, (c. 450 A. D.) has been tortured by the commentator Naecinārkkiniyar, into a reference to Agastya. The passage is an address to Neḍuṇṇeliyan and says, "Lord of the hill from whose side rivulets run! You desire to be next to the ancient God, inaccessible and strong, who removed the Southerner."¹³ The passage is obscure. If the Southerner meant Rāvaṇa, it might mean that Neḍuṇṇeliyan desired to be next only to Rāma; but there is only one other passage and that in a very late poem where Rāvaṇa is called

¹² முத்தி விளக்கித் தஞ்சம்
பொற்கோட் டமயமும் பொதியமும் போன்றே.
Puṇam, 2, 23—24.

¹³ தென்னவர் பெயரிய தன்னருக் துப்பிற்
தொன்முது கடவுட் பின்னர் மேய
வரைத்தா முருவிப் பொருப்பிற் பொருசு.
Maduraikkāṇṇi, ll. 40—42.

'Southerner'.²⁴ The word 'Tennavan' was the usual title of the Pāṇḍya kings. If the poem had been written in the VI century A. D. by which time Aryan mythology had overspread the Tamil land, it might be made to mean that Neḍuñḇeliyan wanted to be next to Siva who had defeated Yama, the Lord of the South; but we cannot be sure that this feat of Siva was widely known in Madura in Neḍuñḇeliyan's time. Both the explanations offered above are fanciful; but the commentator's explanation is very much worse. He makes 'Tennavan' refer to Rāvaṇa and interprets Kaḍavu], God, as Agastya, twisting as he does often the order of the words to suit his interpretation, and says that Agastya removed Rāvaṇa from the lordship over the Tamil country. He quotes as his authority "the Scholiast" on Tolkāppiyam viz., Ḥambūraṇar, who says that Agastya "bound Rāvaṇa by his music." Naccinārkkiniyar's interpretation is outrageously bad and Maduraiḱṣṇji does not refer to Agastya at all.

The *Ṣilappadigāram* is a poem belonging to the age (VI cent. A.D.) when old Tamil mythology and Aryan mythology, old Tamil customs and Aryan ones had begun to mix with each other, though they had not yet become welded into a homogeneous whole. Even this poem does not help much in tracing the origin of the myth of Agastya inventing or teaching the Tamil language for the first time to men. This poem, besides referring to Agastya's curse of Jayanta, son of Indra, and a celestial damsel, has only one other reference to

²⁴ Vide *Mahāmahopādhyāya V. Swaminatha Aiyar's* note in p. 245 of his edition of *Pattuppāṭṭu* (second edition).

Agastya. And that is the bare mention of Agastya's hill, which a Brāhmaṇa pilgrim, by name, Mādalan, circumambulated in the way of the sun before bathing in the sea near Cape Comorin ¹⁵.

The next great epic, Maṇimēgalai, though it has been held to be contemporary with the former epic, yet deals with an age when the old Tamil literary tradition had been completely ousted out of Tamil literature, by that of Sanskrit literature, when the life of the people had been entirely brought under Aryan influence and when Sanskrit proper names of men had displaced Tamil ones. But even this poem, has but a few Agastya legends. One of them refers to the Lady Kāveri, who was born from the upsetting of the water-pot of Agastya, the Muni of the Gods, at the request of a Śōja king, Kāndaman ¹⁶, who desired water. Another says that

¹⁵ மாமலை முகல்வன் மாடல னென்போன்
மாதவ முனிகை மலைவவன் கொண்டு
குமரியம் பெருத்ததை கொன்னையிற் படித்த.

Silappadigāram, xv. 13-15.

¹⁶ கஞ்ச வேட்டையிற் காந்தமன் வேண்ட
அமர முனியை னகத்தியன் குளுது
கரகல் கவிழ்த்த காவிரியிப் பாவை.

Maṇimēgalai, Paḍigam II. 10-12.

The Skāndapurāṇam attributes this request to Indra. In Sanskrit Kāviri is called Kāvēri and is said to be the daughter of a Rṣi called Kavēra. This legend is alluded to in Maṇimēgalai, iii. ll. 55-56 and ix. 152. The story is given in Agastya-purāṇam, ii. 23, vide V. Swaminatha Aiyar's foot-note to p. 105, of Maṇimēgalai.

Agastya ordered a Sōla king who wore an armlet because he had destroyed a castle of the Asuras which was hanging in the sky, to request Indra to be present at a twenty-eight day celebration of an Indra feast in his capital of Kāvīrīppūmbattinam ¹⁷. Thus was the Indra feast established, the neglect of which brought about a catastrophe. Later on in the poem occurs a further reference to Agastya. When Paraśurāma went about killing Kṣatriyas, Kāṇḍaman, the reigning Sōlan, was advised to conceal himself, by the guardian goddess of Kāvīrīppūmbattinam and he took refuge in Agastya's hermitage and asked his successor to guard the city till Agastya should declare that danger was past ¹⁸.

17 ஒங்குயர் மனயத் தருத்த வுணர்ப்பத
துவகெயி வெறித்த தொடிததோட் சொய்யன்
விண்ணகர் தலைவனை உணர்ந்திமுன் னிகுது
மண்ணகத் தெனறன் காப்பதி தன்னுன்
பெய்வார் விடமுய விழுகலோ மனகித்த
காவேழ் காளினு கன்னி துறைநே
வயார் தலைவ னுத்தது படுத்தது.

Manimēgalai, i, ll. 3-9.

'In accordance with the orders of the sage of the tall hill, the Sōlan who wore bracelets on his arms and destroyed the hanging castle, stood, bowing, before the Lord of the Gods, and said, may the great ones, with joy, reside in my heavenly city on the earth during the four times seven days when the festival is celebrated. The King of the Gods agreed to this.'

18 மன்மருத் கறுத்த மழுவா ணையோன்
தன்முன் றேண்ட நகாதொளி நீயெனக்
கன்னி யேவவிற் காத்த மன்னவன்
அமா முனிவ னகத்தியன் தனது
தயர்நீங்கு கிளியியின் யாறேன் தறவும்.

Ib. xxii, ll. 25-27, and 35-36.

None of these legends of the I millennium A. D. refers to Agastya's invention of, or first learning, Tamil from divine teachers. Hence the conversion of the fact that a late Agattiyanār wrote the first Tamil grammar into the myth that the first Agastya learnt Tamil from Siva or Subrahmanya and taught it to the people of South India, must have taken place in the II millennium A. D. when commentators began to flourish and invent myth about the older time. The worst myth is what Naccinārk-kiniyar tells us in his commentary on the prefatory ode to the *Tolkāppiyam*, called *Pāyiram*, that Agattiyanār asked his disciple, *Tṛṇadhūmāgni*, to escort the master's wife, *Lopāmudrā*, from *Vidarbha* to the *Podiya* hill. He at the same time warned his disciple not to approach his wife nearer than the length of four rods. When *Lopāmudrā* and *Tṛṇadhūmāgni* had to cross the *Vaigai*, the river was in flood, and, fearing that she would be washed away by the river, he extended his walking-stick to her and asked her to cling to it. He thus disobeyed his master's solemn injunctions, for in crossing the river, he was but one rod's length from her. The irate master, when he heard of this, exclaimed, "May you two not reach *Svarga*". The pupil, in turn, said, "As you have cursed us for no fault of ours, may you not reach *Svarga*." This legend was invented perhaps to explain the fact that the Agattiyan has perished, whereas the *Tolkāppiyam* has not.

'When the Virgin goddess said, the tall God (*Viṣṇu*) with the battle-axe ought not to see you; therefore hide yourself, *Kāṇḍaman* (asked his natural son to guard the city) till he should return, after Agastya, the *muni* of the Gods advised him that the danger was past.'

CHAPTER XVI.

THE THREE TAMIL SĀNGAMS.

The phrase 'saṅgam poetry':

It is popularly believed that the Pāṇḍya country had three different capitals at three different epochs, that saṅgams or societies of poets were maintained at each one of these capitals, and that these saṅgams were organized bodies which acted as literary censors of every new poem that was sung, and accepted some as correctly composed and rejected others as worthless. Acting on this belief, literary critics of the last century have invented the phrase saṅgacceyyuḷ, saṅgam poetry, to mean poems that received the imprimatur of the Academy. This modern phrase is absurd, because except in the case of the Tolkāppiyam and the Tirukkural, there is not even a legend, written or unwritten, that any of the two thousand and odd odes that are now called saṅgam poems were ever presented or intended to be presented to any association of scholars or courtiers or were accepted or rejected by any body of persons. Recent writers have made the phrase saṅgam poetry more absurd by extending it to the two epics, Śilappadigāram and Maṇimēgalai, which as is proved by their subject-matter, the names given to the characters and the kind of culture they describe, are much later than the early odes and which were composed at a time, when even according to the legends the saṅgams had vanished out of existence. The traditional name given to the early odes is Sāṇṇōr Seyyūḷ, poetry of the (ancient) great ones, and the poetry of the next epoch, pīra sāṇṇōr

seyyul], poetry of the later great ones, and these names are appropriate ones.¹

Where the legend of the three sangams is first narrated :

This legend is narrated for the first time in the commentaries on Agapporul², or grammar of love-poetry in sixty *sūttirams*, by one Iṭaiyanār. The word Iṭaiyanār means also God and so the authorship of this book has been attributed by the scholiast to Śivan and an elaborate legend invented to explain the occasion when and the manner how Śivan promulgated this book. He says that about the time when the last Śaṅgam ended, a great famine prevailed in the Pāṇḍya country, when the king, finding that he was unable to feed his court pandits, sent them away. When the famine was over, the king sent for them back to his court but was surprised to discover that none of them knew anything about the principles of Poruḷadigāram, i.e., the chapter on the subject-matter of poetry. The scholiast does not tell us how this was possible, for they must all have studied that chapter of the Tolkāppiyam, which according to this very writer was the authoritative grammar which guided the poets of the last Śaṅgam, as well as the one which preceded it. But this is not the

¹ The phrases *சங்கமலீதமிழ்*, *சங்கமுத்தமிழ்* are quite different and will be discussed later on.

² This book is called by several modern Tamil writers *Kaḷaviyal*; but as the book contains two chapters, *Kaḷaviyal* (grammar of secret love) and *Kaṇṇiyal* or grammar of married love, it is wrong to refer to it by the name of one of its chapters. The proper name is *Agapporul*.

only defect in the statements of this scholiast. He goes on to say that the king was very much distressed, for the other chapters of grammar led up to the chapter on poetics and no poet could compose poetry without the guidance of *Poruḷadigāram*. Then the God of Madura, in order to relieve the royal distress, composed this book, inscribed it on three copper plates and hid it beneath his seat.³ On the next day, the priest of the temple suddenly remembered that he had neglected for a long time the duty of washing the floor of the shrine and in order to do so, lifted the seat of the idol, discovered the copper-plates⁴ and took them to the king. The king then sent for his pandits and asked them to expound the treatise thus miraculously obtained. They seated themselves on the God-given seat that floated on the waters of the holy tank of Madura, notwithstanding the combined weight of forty-nine men.

³ This unusual proceeding on the part of this God was, as has been said, invented to explain the fact that the author of the *Agapporuḷ* was one *Iraiyānār*. This person was an ancient poet and one of his poems is extant, being No. 2 of the *Kuṇḍogai*. But *Iraiyānār*, meaning Lord, is also one of the Tamil appellations of Śivan and the book was attributed to Śivan probably to magnify its importance. *Iraiyānār*, the Lord, is also called *Madurai Pērālavāyar*, the God of Madura, the great *Ālavāy*. This *Pērālavāyar* is the author of *Puṇam*, 247 and 262, *Agam* 87 and 297 and *Neyṭinai* 51 and 361. Perhaps all these poems were composed by one human poet and as his name was also that of the Madura God, some of them were attributed to the latter.

⁴ This kind of legend came into popularity in the X century. A Kāśmīrī Śaiva work, called the *Śiva*

From there the Pandits gave different interpretations of the book and each stoutly maintained that his own interpretation was the correct one: there was no one superior in knowledge to them, who could say with authority which was the correct interpretation. Then the God directed them to find out the five-year old dumb boy called Uruttiraśanman, and make him the umpire. The dumb boy could hear and they read out to him their commentaries; when Nakkīrar read out his, the boy shed tears of joy for every word of the interpretation and it was decided that Nakkīrar's commentary was the correct one². The commentator then adds that some people say that Uruttiraśanman was the commentator on Agapporai, but in the Scholiast's opinion, Nakkīrar composed it. The commentator then goes on to say that the commentary of Nakkīrar passed, by word of mouth, I suppose, from generation to generation of students till it reached the tenth genera-

Sūtra by Vasugupta of the VIII century, was attributed to Śiva by Kṣemarāja, a X century commentator; he invented the legend that Śiva composed the Sūtras, engraved them on a rock on the Himālayas and directed Vasugupta in a dream to search for the book and teach it to the world. Vide Kṣemarāja's introduction to the Śiva Sūtra Vimarśinī, translated by me and published in the Indian Thought.

² The king need not have taken all this trouble, for the language of the book is not more obscure or difficult than that of any other work of the age. It may also be added that the commentary does not merely explain the text, but contains a lot of matter that was elaborated long after the age of the text.

tion in Nilagandanār of Muṣiri. Then it is said "thus has come this commentary".

It is evident from the above that the commentary that we have of the Agapporuḷ comes from a later hand than Nakkīrar's; whether it contains anything from Nakkīrar is open to serious doubt. With regard to this question M. Raghava Iyengar has pointed out that in Sēnāvaraiyar's commentaries on the Tolkkāppiyam (Por. ix, 94), this latter-day scholiast says that Nakkīrar commented on the Iṟaiyanār Agapporuḷ and another person, who was an ascetic, wrote the commentary on the same for the sake of a later generation of readers; and therefore the commentary which we have is a later work. M. Raghava Iyengar is inclined to believe that this later commentator was Iḷamburaṇa Adigaḷ, who was the first to expound the Tolkkāppiyam and is hence always called "the scholiast" *par excellence*.^a M. Raghava Iyengar adduces some proofs for his conclusion; though the evidence is good so far as it goes, it does not go far enough.

That the commentaries on Iṟaiyanār Agapporuḷ that we now have are not Nakkīrar's but by a later person is also proved by the fact that they quote 329 stanzas of four lines each, besides the usual quotations from the early poets which all books dealing with Agapporuḷ are bound to have. These 329 stanzas are intended to illustrate love-incidents not described in the text of the sūttirams, but taken from later grammars. The hero of these stanzas is one Arikēsari Parāṅgaṇan, the great-grand-father of the donor of the Vēḷvikkudī plates, who

^a Sendamiḷ IV, vii, pp. 303—311.

ascended the throne c. 750 A. D. Hence Arikēsari belonged to the latter half of the VII century. Therefore the upper limit of the age of the commentaries which quote stanzas in praise of this Pāṇḍyan is the end of the VII century or beginning of the VIII century. The lower limit is the XIII century, the earliest possible age of Pērāṣīriyar, who is the first to quote from this commentary of Agapporuḷ.⁷

The legend of the three sangams :

The commentator on Iraiyanār Agapporuḷ is the only person to describe the three Sangams. The account runs as follows :—“The Pāṇḍiyans established three Sangams, viz., the first Sangam, the Middle Sangam and the last Sangam. They say that the members of the first Sangam were 549, beginning with Agattiyanār, the God with hanging braids of hair who burnt the three cities (i.e., Śivan), Murugan who subjugated the hill, Muḍināgarāyar (he of the snake head) of Muriṇṇiyūr, the Lord of Treasure (Kubera). Under them they say 4,449 persons composed poetry. By them were sung countless poems (of the class) beginning with Paripāḍal, Mudunūrai, Mudukurugu, Kalariyāvirai. They were members of the Sangam for 4,400 years. Those that established them as members of the Sangam were, they say, 89 (kings) from Kāysina Vaḷudi to Kaṇṇuḡōn. They say that seven of them mounted the platform of poets. They say that the place where they scrutinized Tamil (poetry) in (their) Sangam was Madura, which was swallowed by the sea. The (authoritative) grammar for them was the Agattiyaṁ.

Then the members of the Middle Sangam were 59, beginning with Agattiyanār, Tolkāppīyanār, Irundaiyūr,

⁷ Vide Pērāṣīriyar's Comm. on Tol. Por. ix. 94.

Karuṅḡōḷi. Mōṣi, Veḷḷūrkkāppiyānār, Śīṟu (lesser) Pāṇḍuraṅgan, Tiraiyanmāraṅ, the king of Tuvurai (Dwārasamudram or Dwāraka) and Kīrandai, say they. Under them, say they, 3,700 composed poems. Their works, they say, were Kali, Kurugu, Veṇḍāḷi, Viyāḷamūlai Agaval, etc. Their (authoritative) grammars were the Agattiyam, the Tolkāppiyam, the Mā purāṇam, Iśainuṇukkam, and Būda purāṇam, say they. They say they were members of the Śāṅgam for 3,700 years. They say that those who established them in the Śāṅgam were 59 Pāṇḍiyans beginning with Veṇḍēroccēḷiyān, and ending with Muḍattirumāraṅ. Of them, say they, five mounted the platform of poets. The place where they scrutinized Tamil (poetry) in (their) Śāṅgam was Kabāḍapuram. Probably then the sea swallowed the Pāṇḍiya country.

Then the members of the last Śāṅgam who scrutinized Tamil (poetry) were forty nine, beginning with Śīṟu Mōḍāviyār, Śāṇḍanbūṇiānār, Ariṇḍaiyarānār, Peruṅḡuṇṟūrkkīḷār, Iḷam (younger) Tirumāraṅ, Nallanduvanār, the scholar of Madura, Marudan Iḷanāḡanār, Nakkīraṅ, the son of the school teacher, they say. Under them, say they, 449 poets composed poems. The poems sung by them were Neḍendogai four hundred, Kuṇḍogai four hundred, Naṟṟiṇai four hundred, Puṇam four hundred, Alūḡuṇḡu, Paḍiṟṟappattu, Kali one hundred and fifty, Paṇiṇḍal seventy, Kūttu, Vari, Siṟṟiṇai, Pēriṇai, etc. Their (authoritative) grammars were, they say, the Agattiyam and the Tolkāppiyam. They scrutinized Tamil (poetry) in their Śāṅgam for 1,850 years, they say. Those that established them in the Śāṅgam were 43 (kings) beginning with Muḍattirumāraṅ who came away (from Kabāḍapuram to Madura) when the sea swallowed (a portion of the Pāṇḍiya country) and ending

with Ukirapperu Vajudi, they say. They scrutinized Tamil (poetry) in their Śāṅgam at Northern Madura, say they."

Criticism of the Legend :

I have translated the account as literally as English idiom would permit. The phrase 'they say,' occurring so many times, is the literal rendering of 'enba'; it means 'says a person' (whom the author holds in respect, generally his teacher) and does not necessarily imply a continuous tradition. Certain statements in this account are incredible and certain others absurd on the face of it. The number of years allotted to the different Śāṅgams is incredible, not only on account of the length assigned to the three periods but also on account of their symmetry. The length of the period of each Śāṅgam is a multiple of 37, and the total duration is $37 \times (129 + 103 + 56)$. This shows how artificial the figures are. These figures are incredible for another reason also. In those early ages, in fact till the VIII century A. D., no era had been invented or adopted in the Tamil country and so there was no means of keeping count of years for any length of time.

The other figures in the account are all equally artificial, and incredibly big. Moreover it is absurd to say that 59 kings reigned for 3,700 years, whereas 549 of their ancestors reigned only 4,440 years. Agattiyanār is made to endure for 8,140 years, the period of the first two Śāṅgams put together. Nor can we believe that the 49 members of the last Śāṅgam lived for 1,850 years, though 49 kings died during the period. Therefore not one of the figures in this account can be believed.

Not merely the figures in this account of the Śaṅgama, but many other facts stated therein are incredible. It is said that all the poems in the Puṇam and other collections were composed by members of the third Śaṅgam or by poets working under their supervision. But we find in those collections poems congratulating certain Śōla kṛṣṇas on their defeating and putting to disgrace Pāṇḍya kings.* It is impossible to believe that the authors of such poems could have become members of the Śaṅgam maintained by Pāṇḍya kings or could have been countenanced by the Śaṅgam itself, or that such poems would have been included in anthologies authorized to be made by the kings of Madura. The collections were made in later times merely to preserve from destruction all available old poems.

Nor can we believe that men of different parts of Tamil India from Musiri on the West Coast to Mylapore on the East, living under the patronage of kings who were so often fighting with each other, could be summoned at the fiat of the Madura king and sit, we are not told, how often in the year, in judgment over the works of poets, most of them short odes, a few lines long. The idea of an organized Academy is a very modern one and it is surely a violent anachronism to transfer it to many hundreds of years ago.

Numerous poets must have flourished before the age of Agattiyanār; for he could not have composed a grammar of literary Tamil and its literature without having previously studied innumerable poems. But the existence of these poets is not even hinted at by the commentator on Iṟaiyanār Agapperu].

* Vide Puṇam 31, 33, among several others.

Glaring absurdities can be pointed in this account of the three Saṅgams. It says that the eight anthologies named were composed by the poets who worked under the last Saṅgam; but the very first ode in the Puṇam anthology is by Muḍināgarāyar, who, in this very account, is called a member of the first Saṅgam. Similarly poems composed by men whom the commentator on Iṭaiyanār Agapporuḷ assigns to the Middle Saṅgam are found in these anthologies. Thus No. 105 and No. 228 of Naṭṭinai are by Muḍattirumāraṇ*, the last royal patron of the second Saṅgam. But a technical objection may be raised that he was also the first patron of the last Saṅgam. This objection cannot apply to another fact, viz., that Pānambāraṇār, who was a fellow-disciple of Tolkāppiyānār, and certainly belonged to the Middle Saṅgam is the author of No. 52 of Kuṇḍogaḷ.

If the commentator on Agapporuḷ with these anthologies before him could say they were all composed by men of the third Saṅgam, whereas they contained poems belonging to the members of the first two Saṅgams, as described by him, we are bound to conclude that he is a very unreliable witness."

* It may be noted that this royal poet wantonly uses the Sanskrit word, cāpa, where the Tamil vil would very well have done, quite as unhesitatingly as Kaḍiyālūr Uruttirāṅgaṇaḍār in Perumbāṇāruppaḍai, I, 120.

† There are three other poems in Puṇam, viz., No. 355, No. 356 and No. 366, respectively by Vāṇmīgiyār, Mārkaṇḍēyanār, and Gaudamanār, who are all claimed to be poets of the first Saṅgam by Naccinārkkiniyar, commentator on the Tolkāppiyam, (vide Śendamil III, ix, pp. 303-312 for a discussion on this subject by M. Raghava Iyengar). I am of opinion that these were

Another inaccurate statement made by the commentator on Agapporai is that three Pāṇḍya patrons of the last Sangam were poets. But in the Kuṇḍogai, the Neṇḍogai (i.e. Agam four hundred) Puṇam and Naṇṇai, are found poems by not three Pāṇḍya kings, but so many as nine, not counting six Śōla kings represented in the above four anthologies; they are

(1) Ollaiyūr tанда Pādappāṇḍiyan, author of Puṇam 71, Agam 25.

(2) Kaṇḍuṇ māynda Iḷamberuvaḷudi, Puṇam 102, Naṇṇai 121.

(3) Pāṇḍiyan Āryappaḍai Kaṇḍanda Neṇḍuṇjeliyan, Puṇam 183.

(4) Pāṇḍiyan Talaiyūlaṅgānattae eevuvenṇa Neṇḍuṇjeliyan, Puṇam 72.

(5) Ukkirapperuvaḷudi, Naṇṇai, 68, Agam 26.

(6) Pāṇḍiyan Māraṇ Vaḷudi, Naṇṇai, 67, 301.

(7) Pāṇḍiyan Arivuḍai Nambī, Kuṇḍogai, 230, Naṇṇai, 15, Agam, 373.

(8) Pāṇḍiyan Pannāḍu tandān, Kuṇḍogai 270.

(9) Mūlai Mūṇan, Kuṇḍogai 245.

Besides these nine, the wife of Pādappāṇḍiyan, named Peruṅōppenḍu, sang Puṇam 246, when she wanted to mount her husband's funeral pyre and a Kuṇḍuḷudi, son of Aṇḍar, a Pāṇḍya prince, sang Kuṇḍogai, 345 and Agam, 150, and 228.

not early poets; Vālmīgiyār was made an early poet because he was believed to be identical with Vālmīki, the contemporary of Śrī Rāma. Similarly Mārkaṇḍāyanār was identified with Mārkaṇḍa, the ever young Rṣi; and Gaudamanār was made an old poet, because in his ode he sings the praises of one Aravōṇ Magan, which word is a literal translation of Dharmaputra, the title of the eldest of the Pāṇḍavas.

If the commentator on Agapporū could be so very inaccurate with regard to the poems of the Sangam nearest to him in time and the books which he had before him, I should think most people would agree about the worthlessness of his testimony with regard to the first and second Sangams.

Probable historical facts in the legend :

The commentator on the Iṟaiyaṇār Agapporū may have heard traditional stories of old Pāṇḍya kings and mixed them up with legends, some current in his time and others invented by him to make it up into a finished account. It is not impossible to extricate probable facts from improbable fiction in the legend so circumstantially narrated by him.

Indian Rājās have from early times been known to have had poets in their cortege. Kings have always hungered for praise and bards have always hungered for meat and thirsted for strong drink. The kings of the Vedic age had their sūtas and Tamil kings their pāṇar to sing their praise, and from early Tamil poems we learn that the Tamil kings were lavish in the distribution of food and drink to their bards and their kinsfolk. For instance one poet speaks of his relatives being plied " morning and evening with food made by boiling in milk mixed with honey the grains of ragi which grows on dry land, which resembles the eggs of pigeons, along with the fat meat of the rabbit roasted ".¹⁶ Another des-

¹⁶ காலை யந்தியு மாலை யந்தியும்

புறவுக் கருவண்ண புன்புல வரவென்

பாற்பெய் புண்க் தேனெடு மயக்கிக்

குறமுயற் கொழுஞ்ஞடு சிழித்த வெகக்கெலாடு.

cribes how the king "gathered the bards who crowded round pots of liquor and how they drank it all up."¹¹ These bards sang in praise of the kings whenever the inspiration seized them. Thus must have been composed the odes that are found in the early anthologies. None of these poems were scrutinized in an Academy or subjected to the fire of criticism.

Was any poem at any time recited before a meeting of scholars for criticism, when the king sat in durbār (kōluviruttal), surrounded by courtiers and bards? There is reliable testimony about one such event. When Tolkāppiyānār composed his famous grammar, he recited it in the court of a Pāṇḍya king, called Nilandaru Tīruviṇ Pāṇḍiyan. In this assembly a Brāhmaṇa scholar of the village of Adāṅgōḍu and master of the four Vedas which teach the Dharma acted as critic. This event is testified to by Panambāṇṇār, a friend and fellow-disciple of Tolkāppiyānār, in the Pāyiram or prefatory verses to the Tolkāppiyam.¹²

¹¹ துணைபுனை சாயமொடு தசம்புடன் குருநெஞ்சி
விரும்பா னெனக்கத் கடும்பு புரந்ததாடம்.

Por, 224, ll. 2—3.

¹² நிலந்தரு திருவிந் பாண்டிய னவையத்
தறங்கரை நாலி னுன்மறை முற்றிய
வதங்கோட் டாசாத் கநிறபத் தெரிந்து.

Ib ll. 9—11.

This king is referred to in மதுரைக் காஞ்சி, ll. 60—61 where Neḍuñṇiyan is called

சிலந்தத்த பேருதவிப் பொவந்தார் மாட்டு னெடியோ
னும்பல்; the commentator misinterprets the passage.

Naccinārkkiniyar adds to this perfectly reliable statement a legend that Tolkāppiyānār frequently requested Adāṅgōṭṭāsān to attend the royal court (avai) on the occasion of the publication of the Tolkāppiyam, but Agattiyanār forbade Adāṅgōṭṭāsān's doing so. As a compromise, this scholar of Adāṅgōṭṭa attended the ceremony as a kind of devil's advocate and made a carping criticism of the Tolkāppiyam. But Tolkāppiyānār stood his ground firmly and parried off all the attacks. This story was manufactured to explain the phrase 'ariṇaba', 'faultlessly' in the Pāyiram Naccinārkkiniyar adds that the king's name was Mākirtti and he reigned for 24,000 years; but there is no instance known from early literature of any Pāṇḍiya or Śōla or Śēra king having a Sanskrit name or title till we came to Ugra Pāṇḍiya in the V century A.D. and the title or name Mākirtti must therefore be a late invention. Besides this there is no other instance of an early Tamil work being formally published and criticized in a royal court and it is ridiculous to claim that short occasional odes about all sorts of subjects were thus presented to an Academy.

In the two thousand and odd pieces that constitute the eight anthologies there is no word or phrase indicating that there continually existed academies of poets or scholars. If there were any such it ought to have been mentioned by Neṇṇējeliyan, the victor of the battle of Talaiyālāṅgānam, in his ode where he boasts of his heroism and invokes, in case he should not defeat his enemies, several misfortunes on him, the last being, "may the limits of my kingdom no more be sung by poets whose fame is acknowledged by all in the world, the chief of whom is Māṅguḍi Marudan of great glory

and excellent scholarship."¹³ As this passage does not mention a Śaṅgam, we may take it that it did not exist or at least that the name Śaṅgam was not used in Neḍuṅḷiyan's time as the name of the body of court-bards. En passant it may also be remarked that this passage gives the lie direct to the popular belief that Nakkīrar was the president of the "third Academy," if ever there was one.

The three Capitals :

There is no reason to discredit the information contained in the legend of the three Śaṅgams that the Pāṇḍiya kings changed their capital twice. The fish-emblem of this dynasty means that they originally belonged to a tribe of fishermen-sailors. Moreover the Pāṇḍiya country it was that was mainly concerned with the export trade of South India from pre-historic times. It is therefore likely that their first capital was a Madurai on the sea and it was the 'Madurai that was swallowed by the sea.' From the title we can infer that it was a seaport town; it was situated probably in the south of the west coast of South India, and as this coast underwent frequent upheavals and depressions, the place might have been wiped out by the sea. The scholiast says vaguely "Probably during that period the Pāṇḍiya country was swallowed by the sea." Apparently he had heard a vague tradition about the event and was not sure of the time when it happened. In ancient Tamil literature

¹³ தஞ்சை செம்பிய ஐயர்ந்த கேள்வி

மாங்குடி மருதன் நிலைமை

அலகமொடு நிலையுயர்ந்த செம்பியர்

புலவர் பாடாது வரைகமென் னிலவரை.

there is a reference to some such catastrophe. In the Mullaikkali, the fourth of the Kalittogai, it is said, "when the surging sea stole his territory, he was not discouraged, but proceeded against his enemies, won (a piece of) their dominions, removed their tiger and bow emblems and with his strong arm planted (instead) his carp ensign. Hence the Pāṇḍiyan earned everlasting fame."¹⁴

The Silappadigāram also refers to the same incident. "May the Southerner (i.e. Pāṇḍiya) prosper, who ruled over the South, after conquering the Gaṅgā and the Himālayam in the North, because the cruel¹⁵ sea swallowed the Comorin hill to which is attached many ranges of hills, along with the river Pahruli, in revenge for an old feud, (that caused) by his throwing the sharp spear at the ocean, (at the same time) indicating to kings the extent of his domain with his feet."¹⁶

¹⁴ மலிதிரை யூர்த்துதன் மண்டல் வெளவின்
மெலிவின்றி மேற்சென்று மேவார்கா டிடம்படப்
புலிகொடு வின்னீக்கிப் புலம்பொறித்த கிளர்கெண்டை
வலியினுன் வணக்கிய வாடாச்சீர்த் தென்னவன்.

Kalittogai, 104, ll. 1-4.

¹⁵ The word kodum has been explained as bent or round by the commentator.

¹⁶ அடியிற் தன்னா வாசர்க் குணர்த்தி
வடிவே லெறிந்த வான்பகை பொழுது
பலமுளி யாற்றுடன் பன்மலை யடுக்கத்துக்
குமரிக் கோடுங் கொடுங்கடல் கொள்ள
வடநிலைக் கங்கையு மிமயமூங் கொண்டு
தென்றிரை யுண்ட தென்னவன் வாழி.

Silappadigāram xi, ll. 17-22.

It will be noticed that while the Kalittogai makes the Pāṇḍiya recoup himself by defeating the Śōla and the Śēra kings, the Śilappadigāram makes him add the Ganges region and the Himalayas to his dominions. Adiyākkunallār, the commentator on the Śilappadigāram, has recorded while commenting on another passage, a tradition that, in the days of the first Saṅgam, when Nilandaru Tiruviṇ Pāṇḍiyan, one of the seven royal poets of that Saṅgam, helped to publish the Tolkāppiyam the river Pahrūjī, which was the northern boundary of the southern face of Tenbālī, the river Kumari¹⁷ (presumably a stream that drained off the rain that fell on Comorin hill) and the intervening district the Teṅga nāḍu seven, Madurai nāḍu seven, front desert seven, back desert seven, hill nāḍu seven, east karni nāḍu seven, short palm nāḍu seven, also the land of several hills, including Kumari and Kollam, the fores and the river and the town up to the big hill north of Comorin were swallowed by the sea.¹⁸ The rivers Kumari and Pahrūjī were probably two small hill rivulets flowing down to the sea and the strip of coast between them must have been lost. Pārūśiriyar one of the commentators on the Tolkāppiyam, says this district was called Panai nadu, the land of palms¹⁹.

¹⁷ The Mahābhārata mentions a Kumārī nadī Bhīṣ. Par. ix 36 (Kum. Ed.).

¹⁸ Commentaries on Śilappadigāram viii ll. 1-3. The word seven probably refers to the number of villages in each district. One of the meanings of the word nāḍu is village. Adiyākkunallār says that the extent of the lost territory was seven hundred kūvudam (i.e. one thousand miles), which is an intolerable exaggeration; if it were true, the Pāṇḍiyan was certainly entitled to compensation by annexing all North India as the poet declares!

¹⁹ Commentaries on Tol. Poruḷ. ix. 94.

Hence what was swallowed by the sea was a small bit of the modern Travancore, the southern part of which belonged to the Pāṇḍiyas in ancient days. Adiyārkkunallār in his commentaries on the passage above quoted, where the poet attributes the conquest of the Gāṅgā and the Himālaya to the Pāṇḍya, naively says that he got the Muttūrkūṭṭam on the boundaries of the Sōḷa country and the Kuṇḍūrkūṭṭam of the Sēra country to make up for the lost districts. The acquisition of two small districts in South India is converted by Ilāṅgōvaḍigal, the author of the *Ṣilappadigūram*, into practically the conquest of the whole of Northern India. Such fearful exaggeration is commonly indulged in by this poet; yet some modern investigators regard the poem, containing such exaggerations, to be so historical, that every word of it can be taken as literal truth, and build far-reaching theories on the strength of solitary phrases of this poem.

One of the districts lost in this catastrophe is called Madurai Nāḍu; this perhaps means Madurai, the first capital of the Pāṇḍyas and its hamlets. It is perfectly possible that after this district was drowned in the sea, the capital was shifted to Kaṇḍāpuram. This word is but an adaptation of the Sanskrit phrase pāṇḍyakavāṭam, meaning 'the door of the Pāṇḍya country.' The Tamil name of the place was Koṭṭai. When this place was abandoned, the present (Northern) Madurai became the capital. The transfer of the capital from Koṭṭai to Madura is noted by Pliny.²⁰ When the king changed his residence, we may presume, his poets also shifted their quarters to the new capital. The fact of the three capitals gave birth to the legend of the three Sangams

²⁰ Warmington, op. cit. p. 167.

Another Sangam legend :

At about the end of the V century A.D. North Indian Āgama cults—the Śaiva, the Vaiṣṇava, the Jaina and the Bauddha—burst the dam that separated the ordinary life of the Tamils from that of the followers of the Northern cults in the Śōḷa, Śāra and Pāṇḍya countries. The probable cause of this will be discussed later. Devotees of Śivan and Viṣṇu and Bhikkus of the Jaina and Bauddha cults swarmed in the land calling upon the Tamils to seek mokṣha. The worshippers of Śivan were called śivanadiyār or nāyanmār; those of Viṣṇu, āḷwār. Numerous temples arose in different villages of the Tamil country dedicated to Viṣṇu or Śivan, where these devotees worshipped and miracles were performed at these shrines owing to the potency of the devotion of these Bhaktas. Each shrine produced a crop of legends proving its supreme holiness. The formation of these legends is a process that is going on even to-day. Often these legends find literary expression when a poet becomes a devotee of the god of the temple to which the legends pertain. The poems narrating these stories were generally composed in Sanskrit and called Sthalapurāṇams, and later adapted in Tamil. These Sthalapurāṇams, unlike the Purāṇams attributed to Vyāsa, do not contain any historical material; for their inspiring motive is purely local patriotism and consuming desire, to magnify the miracle-working potency of a particular idol.

The miracles performed by the presiding deity of the chief Śivan temple of Madura were called 'holy sports,' tiruviṭaiyāḍai, and two Sanskrit works and two Tamil ones exist on the subject. Though these books were composed in comparatively late times, they embody

legends which were born in the VI century A. D. and have gone on gathering volume like a snowball. A pseudo-historical appearance is given to these legends by the mention in them of a number of kings of Madura. But the fact that Sanskrit names have been given to these kings shows that they were all invented names, for except in the case of the latest of the Pāṇḍiya kings, Ukkira Pāṇḍiyan, no early Pāṇḍiya king but had a Tamil name. One of the legends says, in the reign of Vaṅgiya sāgarani (Sanskrit Vamśa sekharā), Brahmā quarrelled with his wife Sarasvatī, in Benares city, and ordained that of the fifty-one (Sanskrit) letters that constituted her body, the forty-eight from 'ā' to 'ha,' should become incarnated as mortal poets, and that the first letter 'a,' which was the life-principle of the rest, and also the god of Madura, would become an embodied being and a poet, and that along with the other forty-eight would form a Śaṅgam of forty-nine members. The forty-eight letters were born as men in this material world and after conducting learned debates in various places, proceeded to Madura. They were met by Śivan in person who advised them to worship the god of Madura. They did so, composed poems in his eulogy and then presented themselves before the Pāṇḍiyan. The monarch built for their residence a hall to the North-West of the temple and gave them many presents. This roused the jealousy of the poets who were already receiving royal patronage. The new arrivals defeated the latter in debate, and then begged Śivan to give them a sitting plank, wherewith to test the scholarship of candidates for poetic fame. Śivan then stood before them in the form of a poet, carrying with him a plank two spans square. They offered incense to the plank and Nakkīrar first set upon

it; then the rest, Kapilar, Paravar, etc., one after another. The plank grew in size, just enough to afford accomodation to true scholars. Then there arose quarrels among the poets as to whose poem was superior to the rest. Śivan again appeared among them and settled their disputes. This tale is of no use for historical purposes. The only thing in common between this legend and that which is found in the commentaries on Iṭaiyanār Agapporuḥ is the name of the poet Nakkiranār. This legend contemplates the existence of only one Śaṅgam and not three. Though so fully charged with mythology, modern writers have given it more credence than to the soberer one and speak of *the* Śaṅgam, as if there were only one such. It should not surprise us if the devotees of Śivan should speak of *the* Śaṅgam, for the object of their devotion, Śivan, took part in only one Śaṅgam. Hence in a poem found in the collection of hymns (Tēvāram) composed by Appar (VII century A. D.) there is a reference to Śivan's sport in helping a poor poet, Tarumi, to gain a purse of gold in the Śaṅgam.²¹ Probably the story of this 'sport' was current in the VII century A. D.)²² But it is really surprising that so-called critical scholars of the present day should speak of one Śaṅgam. Either

²¹ ஸ்ரீபாட்டுப்புலவனுய்த் தங்கமேறி
தந்தனக்கிழி தருநிச்சுருளி னோர் காண்.

Tiruppuṭṭār Tiruttāṇḍāḍam, 2. 1. 2.

²² Another 'sport' of Śiva described in this poem is the teaching of Tamil by Śivan to Agattiyanār; when exactly the story was invented we do not know but now for the first time the human author of the Agattiyam was turned into a semi-divine being.

they ought to speak of three Saṅgams; or of none at all, according as they regard the scholiast's statement as credible or incredible. It is really curious that the critical method should lead any one to prefer the pure myth of the *Sthalapurāṇam* to the mixture of fact and fiction of the Scholiast.

The word *Saṅgam* and its compounds :

The word *Saṅgam* is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit *Saṅgha*, first popularized by the Jainas and the Bauddhas. The former used the word to indicate the organized body of the followers of Mahāvīra, composed of the *Bhikkhu*, the *Bhikkunī*, the *Śrāvaka* and the *Śrāvikā*. The former two were men and women ascetics, who followed a strict code of laws, involving extreme self-mortification and practised a difficult course of yoga practice, generally ending in the *sallekhana*, suicide by starvation. The latter were lay disciples of both sexes, who were candidates for asceticism. The whole was a systematically organized body of aspirants for *jinahood*. The Bauddha *Saṅgha* was the association of men or women ascetics who lived in monasteries, followed a code of laws much less severe than those of the Jainas *Sanyāsīs* and even of those of Brāhmana ascetics and practised a Yoga system of their own. The Bauddha monks taught the *Dharma* to the lay public but did not include the laity in their organization. These Jaina and Bauddha ascetics migrated to the Tamil country from the IV century B.C., onwards, but lived at first in natural mountain caves and later in groves outside the capital cities; but till the V century A.D., they did not influence the lives of the ordinary Tamil men: so no mention of them is found in the early poems of the Tamils. They

are for the first time mentioned in the *Pattinappālai* and the *Maṭuraikkālāṭṭi*²².

A Jaina Saṅgha was for the first time established in the Tamil country at Madura in 470 A. D. "In a Digambara Darśanasūtra, lately obtained from Anhilwād Pāthan, Devasena, who gives his own date as 909 (apparently from his constant use of that era, samvat 909 = A. D. 853), tells us that Vajranandī, the pupil of Sṛī Puṇyapāda, founded the Drāviḍa Saṅgha in Mathura of the Deccan in the year 525 'after the death (ślo) of Vikrama.'²³ It has to be noted that this was not a Tamil saṅgam as we understand it, but an organization of the Jainas of the Tamil country for teaching the Jaina Dharma to lay disciples. The first Bauddha saṅgha of the Tamil country is mentioned in the romance called *Maṇimēgalai* as existing in *Kāvirippūmbettinam*. Among the sounds heard in the early morning in that city were 'the right whorled chank-shells' inarticulate sounds and those of the (Bauddha) saṅgha's teaching of wisdom, pregnant with meaning"²⁴.

²² Pat. I. 53, Madur. II. 476—483.

²³ *Sirī pumjja pūdasālo dāviḍa saṅgassa kārago vuṣṭho |*

gāmaṇa vajjanandī pāhona vedi mahāsattho |

pamea saṇa evāsa vikramarāyassa maraṇa pattassa |

darikaṇa mahurāṭṭālo dāviḍa saṅgho mahāmaho |

J. B. B. A. S. vol. xvii. Part I. No. xlv. p. 74.

²⁴ வலம்புரிச் சங்கம் வறிதெழுத் தரப்பல்

புலம்புரிச் சங்கம் பொருளெழுதி முழங்க.

vii, 113-114.

The paronyma-ia was rendered possible because the native word for chank and the borrowed word saṅgha, were pronounced alike.

The "three Jewels"—Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha—are mentioned later in the same poem.*

When the Śaiva cult began to compete with the Jain and Buddha cults in Madura in the VI century A. D., the Śaivas naturally desired to boast of a Saṅgha of their own, as a rival to those of the heretics; and so arose the legend of Śivan himself leading a society of scholars and poets who sang hymns about him, such as the one described by the Tiruvilaiyāḍal Parāṇam; as members of that society were named the few poets of the early anthologies, who alone referred to Śivan in their odes, or who might otherwise be associated with Śivan, such as Iṟaiyanār, Urattirar, Kapilar, Nakkirar, Paraṇar, Maduraiyōṟṟālavāyar. Thus apparently the word saṅgam was used at first in Tamil for a religious association and its function was to teach Dharma or to sing about Śivan. For the first time the scholiast on the Iṟaiyanār Agapporuḷ used it in the sense of a lay, literary academy in his legendary account of the three saṅgams.

The first phrases having the word saṅgam as an element were saṅgamali tamil, saṅgamugattamil, saṅgat tamil. In these phrases tamil means Tamil verse and not the Tamil language; and saṅgam has the connotation of a body of hymnists of Śivan or Viṣṇu, or is at least associated with religious poetry.

Thus the great Brāhmana Śaiva hymnist, Tiru-ṅgāna ṣambandar describes the group of ten stanzas composed by him in praise of the god of Tiruttāvū-

* புத்த தர்ம சங்க மென்ற

முத்திர மணிய மும்மையின் கணங்கி.

1b. xxx ll. 34.

temple, "the ten Tamil (stanzas) pertaining to the śaṅgam sung by Nānasambandan."¹⁷

In another hymn to the same god, he calls himself "one able (to compose) good śendami]."¹⁸

Tirumangai Ālvār, the Vaiṣṇava hymnist, contemporary with the above, ends almost every one of his decades by describing his poems as having been composed in pure Tamil, calls in a certain one of his decades, "the Ten (stanzas) which form a garland for the head (?) of the śaṅgam."¹⁹

Another he calls "the Ten (stanzas) which are in Tamil belonging to the Śaṅgam."²⁰ The great Vaiṣṇava poetess, Āṇḍī, daughter of Periyālvār, calls her delightful poem, Tiruppāvai, "the thirty (stanzas which form) a garland of śaṅgattami], composed by the daughter of the great Paṭṭar."²¹

Another phrase which has become common among modern writers on Tamil history is Śaṅgakālam, 'the Śaṅgam period.' Seeing that no single assembly of poets was called a Śaṅgam, the phrase is meaningless. According to the commentator on Irāiyanār Agapporu] it was

¹⁷ ஞானசம்பந்த ஐயைசெய் சங்கமலி செத்தமிழ்கள் பத்து.

Tiruttēvār Tēvāram, ii, 10, 11-3-4.

¹⁸ எல்ல செத்தமிழ் வல்லவன்.

Ib. i, 10, 1, 2.

¹⁹ சங்கமுத்தமிழ் மாலைபத்து.

Periyatirumoli iii, 4, 10.

²⁰ சங்கமலி தமிழ் மாலைபத்து.

Ib. iii, 9-10.

²¹ பட்டர் பிரான் ஞானைத தென்ன சங்கத்தமிழ் மாலை முப்பது.

Tiruppāvai, 30, 1, 5

a period of 9,900 years. Some modern writers rightly reject this figure, unreasonably dismiss into non-existence the authors of the various grammars and poems attributed to the first and second Sangams, restrict the word Sangam to the third, and use the phrase 'Sangam period,' for what they imagine was the period of that Sangam. The commentator on the Agapporuḷ says vaguely that the eight anthologies and certain other works, not now extant, were sung by "them", i.e. by the 449 poets who worked under the supervision of the 49 members of the third Sangam. We do not reach either figure by counting up the poets of the eight anthologies. I have already pointed out that members of the first and second Sangams according to the commentator are represented in the anthologies. But certain modern writers have persuaded themselves that all the poets whose poems constitute these anthologies lived in one or at the most two generations. This is absurd, for it means that ancient Tamil literature flashed like a meteor on the South Indian horizon, preceded by abysmal darkness and succeeded by a long prajaya. It reminds one of the crude theories of most unscientific people that the manifestation of life on our globe took place suddenly on the extinction of beginningless chaos and life will be quenched equally suddenly and endless night will supervene. On the contrary, Tamil poetry, like every thing else in the universe was the result of slow growth during many centuries and has had from its birth till today an uninterrupted course of evolution.

Conclusion :

I may sum up the results of this long discussion :—

(1) Tamil poetry arose about 1,000 B.C., if not earlier, but almost all the poems of the I millennium, including

those on which Agattiyanār, Tolkāppiyānār and other early grammarians based their grammatical researches have perished. Yet we may be sure that they were all occasional odes on one or other incident of love or war, as described in the *Poruḷadigāram* of the Tolkāppiyam.

(2) These poets flourished in the sunshine of royal favour in the courts of the Tamil kings, not only Pāṇḍiya but also Śōḷa and Śēra. The kings were lavish in the distribution of meat and liquor to bards and their kinsfolk.

(3) The Pāṇḍiya kings had three capitals one after another, and that was why the legend of three Sāngams arose.

(4) The numbers of years of the durations of, and of the members of, the Sāngams are absurd inventions.

(5) The Tamil Sāngam was first imagined as a religious body in imitation of a Drāvida Saṅgha established by Vajra Nandi in 470 A. D., and a few of the poets of the V century who happened to sing songs in praise of Śivan were spoken of as leading members of the Tamil Sāngam which was graced by Śiva's presence, off and on, according to legend.

(6) In the VIII century or later, the name Sāngam was given to the royal darbars of ancient times, which were described as three Tamil Sāngams.

(7) The Śōḷa and Śēra kings must have had similar darbars since early times, but as these dynasties were under an eclipse from the end of the V century A. D., to the IX century A. D. or on account of the absence of famous temples like that of Madura, or other causes which

cannot be discovered, the Śivans of other places were not credited with helping Śaṅgams there. Hence the Paṇḍiyas alone got the honour of possessing Śaṅgams.

(7) The legend of three Śaṅgams is not a genuine tradition handed down from one generation of scholars to another but a hotch-potch of vague memories of royal assemblies, surmises with regard to allusions in poems and legends of Śivan's miracles.



CHAPTER XVII

THE FIRST HALF-MILLENNIUM A. D. LIFE OF THE PEOPLE.

The old Tamil ways still going strong :

Notwithstanding the existence in their midst of Brāhmanas and the attempts of Agattiyanār and Tolkappiyanār to import Aryan culture into the Tamil country, the bulk of the people continued to live as if Aryan culture did not exist. They lived and loved just in the same ways as their forebears did in the olden times. Their occupations, customs, and beliefs, superstitious or otherwise, did not at all alter. The following extracts will enable the reader to realize that the simple rural life of the pre-Christian centuries continued intact and will also show that notwithstanding its contact with Sanskrit culture, the Tamil Muse still sought inspiration from the humble scenes around, which it deserted a few centuries later when the artificial poetry of Sanskrit subjugated the Tamil mind and for all time destroyed the beautiful realistic poetry of the early Tamils.

Raising of food in the hill-country :

The raising of food was the chief work of the people and is frequently described. "In the red high land where is the Vāṅgai (*Pterocarpus bilobus*) tree which grows well in the heat, the field gets well soaked in the rains of the rainy season. They plough it many times so that the sod is well turned. They sow and harrow and in the proper season pull out the many-branched weeds. The stalks grow leaves plentifully and like the pea-hen

which has recently laid eggs, their black stems rise tall and grow many spikes of corn from head to foot. They reap the ragi and the panicum in the proper season, when the sesamum becomes dark and the white fruit of the bean which grows from stout creepers is ready for cutting, and they distribute in the huts covered with straw the liquor that has been buried in the earth and is ripe; they fry the ground-nut in sweet smelling oil and cook food."¹ But raising food-stuff by ploughing was not an absolute necessity in the hill-country; food-stuff got without ploughing is described in the following. "(Your country) produces four crops which do not require ploughing by farmers. First, the rice grows in the bamboo which has small leaves. Secondly, the sweet pulp ripens in the jack-fruit. Thirdly the tubers of the sweet potato descend from the thick creeper. Fourthly, the ripe blue honey comb bursts when the

- ¹ வெப்புள் விளைந்த வேங்கைச் செஞ்சுந்தர்
காப்பெயற் கலிந்த பெரும்பாட் ளாத்துப்
பூழி மயங்கப் பலமுழுது வித்திப்
பல்லி யாடிய பங்கிளைச் செவ்விக்
கலைகால் கழாவிற் றோடொலிபு கத்தி
மென்மலிற் புனிற்றுப் பெடைகடுப்ப கிழக்
கருத்தான் போகி யொருங்குபின் விசிந்து
சீழு மேலு மெஞ்சாமைப் பலகாப்த்து
வாலிதின் விளைந்த புதுவா கரியத்
தினெனொய்யக் கவ்வை கறுப்ப வவரைக்
கொழுவ்கொடி விளர்க்காய் கோட்பத யாக
சுவம்புதைப் பழுளிய மட்டின் நேறல்
புள்வேய் குரம்பைக் குடிதொறும் பகர்த்து
சுறவெய்க் கடலை விசைப்பச் சோறட்டு.

beautifully-coloured monkey jumps on it and the long hard hills drip with honey' ". "The dwellers of the hill country were loth to part from it, because from bough to bough, are hanging the honey combs, large fruits are ripening in bunches, bright rivulets are running down the hill looking like garlands, on the hill-sides are being raised various kinds of grains and pulses all the year round and the mountainous country is very fertile,"²

The life of the hunter :

By way of recounting the exhortation of a maiden made to her lover not to visit her during nights, exposing himself to the dangers of walking in the dark through the hill-country, a poet describes several incidents in the life of the hunter. "Lord of the high hill, the boar, whose neck is covered with bristles, along with its mate whose breasts are dried up like leather, destroys the millets on their stalks; the hunter, through a hole in the thicket in the road, shoots the

² கடழவு ருழாதன ஈன்குபய னுடைத்தே
ஒன்றே, சிறியிலை யெதிரி னெய்விலை யும்மே
இரண்டே, திருக்கைப் பவலின் பழமுழக் கும்மே
மூன்றே, கொழுங்கொடி யன்னிக் கிழங்குவிழக் கும்மே
ஈன்கே, அணிசிற வேலரி பாய்தலின் மீதழிந்து
திணிவெடுங் குன்றக் தேன்சொரி யும்மே.

Pur. 109 ll. 3—8.

³ பிரசத் தூங்கப் பெரும்பழத் துணை
யனாவென் னருவி மாலை யிழிந்தான்
கூல மெய்வரம் புனம்புக ஈனா
மய்வந் தம்மலிம் மலைகெழு வெற்பெனப்
பிரித்தோ ரிரங்கும் பெருக்கன் னாடு.

Nar. 23, l' 1—5.

boar with an arrow from his bow. The black-haired lady of the house decorates the white tusked boar, cuts it up and distributes pieces of its meat to every house in the village. You (lord of this village), are coming here in the night without fear, when the strong, angry elephant is standing expecting the tiger. The thought of it strikes me with fear. Do not henceforth come along the road, where the bear, like a cloud, stalks round the snake's nest, which has a wet hole, searching for prey."⁴

In the Valleys :

In the low lands, "the stork feeds from the tank and sleeps on the corn-stalk. The farmers, who reap the beautiful fields where the lily grows, drink from cups made of the lily leaves from whose opening bud the petals have dropped off and dance keeping time to the roaring waves of the clear sea. May I, eager for reward, not return, after praising you, lord of these lands, empty handed and disappointed as do the birds that fly high in the sky and, desiring the jack-fruit, go so that the mountain-caves resound with the noise

* பிணர்ச்சயத் பன்றி தோன்முலைப் பிணவொடு
கிணர்கா வேனல் னைம்பிகல் கவர்நலிற்
கவ்வை எரும்புறை யவ்விக் கானவன்
கிவ்விற் தந்த வெண்கோட் டேத்தைப்
புணியினும் கதப்பின் பிணயோர் கெண்டிச்
குடிமுறை பகுக்கு செவிமலை எட
வரவுசரின யெழ முறுபுவி பார்த்து
யிரவி னவ்வா வஞ்சக வாலி
நீரலைப் புந்தல் காரண முற்றி
யிராதே சென்னெ யாமும்
வரைசெர் இதுசெறி வாரா தீமே.

of their flight, and find that the tree has ceased to bear fruit."^a

The commonest objects and the most ordinary incidents of the agricultural region elicited the most sweet poetry from the poets of the Tamil country, before they came under the cramping influence of the artificial poetry of the later ages of classical Sanskrit composition. Thus sings a Tamil poet :—

"The water of the magnificent tank is flowing into the irrigation-canal; the horned Vāṭai-fish tries to swim against the current, but is borne down to the slushy fields; its white scales are dotted with dirt from the feet of the buffaloes that draw the plough, and the ploughman who ploughs up and down many times beats it with his stick. It then rolls in the edge of the furrow."^b

பொய்கை நாரை போர்வீழ் தேக்கு
கெய்தலக் கழனி கெய்கரி தெருவற்
கம்புவிடு மென்பினி யவீழ்த்த வம்ப
வகலடை யரியன் மார்த்தித் தெண்டத்
படுதிறை யின்செர்ப் பரணி தூக்கு
மென்புல வைப்பி னன்னாட்டுப் பொரு
பல்கனி நரைஇ யல்குவிசம் புசுத்த
பெருமை விடாகுடு சுவம்ப முன்னிப்
பழனுடைப் பெருமார் தீர்த்தெனக் கையற்றப்
பெருது பெயரும் புள்ளினம் போலின்
னகைநா வந்துகின் னினை நுகவ் பரிசிலென்
வறுவியென் பெயர்கோ,

Pur. 209, 1-12.

"மாண் பெருங்குள மடைநீர் விட்டெனக்
காலனைத் தெதிரிய கண்ணகோட்டு வானை
யன்னலக் கழனி யுன்வர யோடிப்

This is another extract relating to life in the river-valley. "In the midst of lotuses whose flowers look like forked flame, the reapers who have cut the stalks of the red paddy throw the sheaves. If the carts in which these reapers carry their liquor get stuck in the mud, they heap up below the wheels of the cart the stalks of the sugar-cane: O lord of this land where flows the river, you have lost all sense of shame. For they say you are constantly playing with your mistress in the flood. Her fair face makes effulgent the broad ford of the river on whose banks the *Butea frondosa* bears flowers looking like fried paddy. Her thick tresses are pleasant to see and smell sweet with flowers. Her looks are pert. On her beautiful breasts the garland of pearls heaves up and down. Her beauty pierces the mind" (?).

பகடுசே நனைத்த புள்ளியெண் புறத்தாசு
செஞ்சா லுழுவர் கோற்புடை மதரிப்
பைங்காற் செதுவி னனைமுத்த புரளும்.

Nar. 340, ll. 3-8.

† எரியாகக் தன்ன தாமரை யிடைவிடை
யரிந்துகால் குவித்த செக்கெல் வினைஞர்
கட்கொண்டு மறுகுஞ் சாகா டனத்தறி
ஞங்கரும் படுக்கும் பாய்புன லா
பெரிய காணிலை மன்ற பொரியெனப்
புன்கவி முகன்முறைப் பொலிய லொண்ணுத
னறுமலர்க் காண்வருங் குறம்பல் உத்தன்
மாறை கோக்குந் காழியல் வனமுலை
யெய்குடை யெழினலத் தொருத்தியொடு செருகை
வைகுபுன வயத்தனை.

Agam. 116, ll. 1-10.

In the littoral tracts :

Fishing was the chief occupation of Neydal, the littoral tract, and the poet did not think that this occupation was too lowly a subject for his craft. "For throwing into the sea, which roars like thunder, the great net woven of ropes twined tight, the heavily laden punt was propelled with poles by men who looked like uncontrollable elephants . . . The village near the clear sea is surrounded by a hodge of Kapdal trees; and in its gardens spread with new sand the fine pollen from the opening buds of the Alexandrian laurel is blown by the east wind on the white backs of the borons." A fisher-girl in the following beautiful ode requests her lover to stay overnight, for the men of her house were not likely to return soon. "The girls who are adorned with bright bangles welcome from their houses the dark-eyed eventide which announces the sad news that the sun who, rising from the eastern ocean had spread his fair-hued rays to make the day bright, has vanished behind the western hill. The village is filled with the sound of the beating of the waves of the broad sea, which is blue like the light of

* வடிச்சதீர் திரித்த வன்னாட் பெருவலை
விடிச்சுந் புணசிப் பெனவத் திமொர்
கிறையப் பெய்த வம்பி காழோர்
கிறையருள் களித்திற் பாதவ சொல்பும்
+ + + + + போதலிழ்
புதுமணற் கானற் புன்னையுண் டாத
கொண்ட வசையளி னுக்குதொறங் குருகின்
வெண்புற மொலிய வார்த்துக் தெண்கடற்
கண்டல் வேலிய ளூர்.

Nar. 74, ll. 1—4, 6—10.

the lamp in which is burnt the fat of the fish. Will you lose anything if you stay here with us? My relatives who have gone to kill the cruel shark which runs away tearing the beautiful net whose feet are made of red thread and head is bent, will not return empty-handed".⁹ The amenities of life on the sea-coast are described in one ode. There "the great farmers who reap the paddy in the heat of the bright sun, jump on the waves of the clear sea; the sturdy sailors, who own strongly built boats drink the hot (i. e., strong) liquor and dance the Kuravai measure; they take hold of the bright-bangled hands of the women who are wearing the garlands made of the soft clusters of the flowers of the Alexandrian laurel (punnai) which has leaves wetted by the droplets of sea-water and drips with honey; in the cool groves in which bees swarm round the flowers, women wearing bright bracelets and garlands of Pandanus flowers, drink the juice of the pulp of the palmyra fruit, mixed with that of the

⁹ குணகட வியர்த்த குருகந்திர் பாப்பிப்
பகங்கெழு செல்வன் குடமலை மறையப்
புலம்பல் திறத்த புன்கன் மாலை
விலங்குவனை மகளிர் வியனக ரயா
மீனிணக் தொகுத்த லுனெய் யொண்சுடர்
நீனிநப் பாப்பிற் நயங்குதிரை புறநப்பக்
கணசேர் பிறுந்த கல்வென் பரக்கத்
தின்றுரீ வியணை யாடு யெம்மொடு
தங்கி னெவனோ தெய்ய செங்கார்
கொடுமுடி யங்கலை பரியப் போகிய
கோட்கொக் குறித்த முன்பொடு
மேட்டம் வாயா தெமர்வா ளவரே,

shining sugar-cane and the sweet water of the round cocoanut which grows on sand, and leap into the sea " 19

A poem in which the foster-sister exhorts the lover to stay overnight and console the heroine gives another picture of the coastal region and its ways. "Crowds of fish-eating, yellow-legged storks fly in the red sky and look like the garland of pearls on the breast of Murugan. The many-rayed sun has spent the day little by little and set behind the western sky. This maiden of great modesty and delicate beauty has lost heart; her fair eyes

19 செல்லரிய நிரூத்தொழுவர்

செஞ்ஞாயிற்று வெயின்முனைவிந்
நெண்கடற்றினை நனைப்பாயுத்து
நிண்டியில் வன்பதவந்
வெப்புடைய மட்டுண்டு
தண்குளவகச் சீர்தூங்குத்து
தூயந் கவித்த தேம்பாய் புண்ணை
மெல்லிணைச் சண்ணி நினைத்த மைத்த
செவ்வனை மகவிக் தலைகளை தருவத்து
வண்டுபட மலர்த்த தண்ணறம் கரணன்
முண்டகச் கோதை பொண்டொடி மகவரி
நிரும்பணியின் குரும்பைக்கும்
பூங்கரும்பின் நீஞ்சாறு
மோங்குமணந் குவவுத்தாமைத்
தீரோடு இடின்விரைமய்
முநீர் குண்டு முநீர்ப் பாயும்.

Por. 24, II, 1-16

In the last line there is a fine pun. They drink the three waters - palmyra, sugarcane and cocoanut - mixed together and jump into the 'triple-water,' the name of the sea-water, because it contains the water of springs, rivers and rain.

have begun to shed tears. My lord, your mule, which has been wounded in the leg by the shark of the lagoon, cannot wade through its dark waters, hence do not go back in the night in the company of your young followers who carry the strong bow. There in the sandy garden where the palmyra grows and the nightingale calls for its mate, is a place surrounded by the long backwater, which belongs to us who wear small clusters of lilies. What will you lose if you go there and take rest?¹¹

In the sandy desert:

In the bleak desert region, Pālai, the conditions of life were difficult. "The summer lingers long on the hill-side and the hot sunlight looks like a long white piece of cloth spread wide. The hungry wolf kills and

¹¹ செந்வேண் மார்யி ஞாம் போலச்
செய்யாய் வானச் சீண்டு மினருந்தம்
பைக்காற் கொக்கின சீரைபதை யுலப்ப
வெள்ளை நாப்பயம் கழிப்பிக் குடவிற்த்
கவ்சேர் தன்றே பங்குதிக் ஞாயிறு
மதொழின் மழைக்கண் கறுநு விவனே
பெருநா ணணிந்த சிறுமென் சாயன்
மாணவஞ் சிதைய வேங்கி யானு
தழொடய் இனனே பெரும வதனா
கழிச்சுரு வெறிந்த புட்டா னத்திரி
செவீ நிருக்கழிப் பரிமெனிக் தசைது
வல்லி வீரையொர டெல்லிச் செல்லாத
சேர்த்தனை செலினே சிதைநய துண்டோ
பெண்ணை யோங்கிய வெண்ணைப் படப்பை
யன்றி வகவு மாங்கட
சிறுநா நெய்தலெம் பெருக்கழி நாட்டே.

eats the emaciated elk ; what remains of the meat after the wolf has eaten, is alone the food available to the man from other regions who travels in the Pūlai. It is wearisome for one to go on the difficult paths there."¹⁰ The desert region is not without beauties of its own. "On the fine sand where the water has all dried up, are visible the lines which form the tracks of the birds which have bent feathers. As the gentle north wind plays upon the sugar-cane, its white flower spreads out and, looking like the fly-whisk waved before a king, beautifies the thicket. When the clouds are deserting the sky, the sun shows himself and disappears, as if he opened and shut his eyes alternately; the day departs, evening comes on; and then the mid-night when the dew falls heavily."¹¹

- ¹⁰ துன்பியிளித் தன்ன வெயிலவி குருப்பி
 னென்றுழ் கீழய குன்றத்துக் கயாடி
 னோப்பசிச் செஞ்சா யுயர்குமரை தோளொச்சி
 யாத்தன கொழித்த கிச்சில் சேய்காட்
 டருஞ்சாற் செவ்வெரக்கு லக்கி உராகும்
 வெம்மை யாசினை யிறத்தல்.

Nar. 43, ll. 1—6.

- ¹¹ செருஞ்சிறை
 யுன்னடி பொறித்த வரிபுடைத தனைய
 கீழி மருங்கி வீரயர் தோன்ற
 வளரா வானை யுளர்ப்புளரி திண்டலின்
 வேழ வெண்பூ விசுவன பஸ்யுடன்
 கேர்துவீக கயலியிற் பூம்புத லணிய
 மறைகழி விசம்பின் மாநீ ஞாநிற
 விழித்திமைப் பதுபோல் விளங்குபு மறைய
 வெள்ளைபோலிய பொழுதி னென்றறப்
 பளிக்காற் கொண்ட பைபுள் யாமம்.

Nar. 241, ll. 1—10.

But yet this region is desolate enough, though people have to cross it frequently. "The men that have passed along the track have cut the vine called pirandai (*vitis quadrangularis*); the cut creeper looks like a piece of the green snake chopped by the thunderbolt, shrivelled on the track. In the hearth made of stones left by the salt-vendors the youthful archers boil meat and rice till the smell rises and eat it with delight."¹⁴

In the pastoral regions:

The Mullai, pastoral region, was a very pleasant one to dwell in. There, "in the last day of the rains which pour in streams from the sky, the shepherd carries suspended from his hand a hoop made of many strands, (with a milk-pot in it) and on his back a rolled up palm-leaf mat and a leather-bag containing the fire-shorn and other tools; when he goes on shouting the price of milk, one side of his body is wetted by the rain-drops, he leans his stick on the ground, places one foot on it and screws his lips and whistles his call to his small-headed sheep so that they may not stray to another man's land and the sheep stand motionless. The virtuous, fair lady of this truly fertile pastoral village, though it is night, is delighted to feed her guests."¹⁵

¹⁴ ஆறுதென் மாக்கன் ஈறுத்த பிரண்டை
யேறபெறு பாம்பின் பைத்துணி கடுப்ப
பெறியயற் றிசங்கு மத்தம் வெறிகொள
யுமண்சாத் திறத்த வெழிக் கடுப்பி
நேன்சிலை மழை ருன்புழுக் கயரும்.

Agam, 119, ll. 5—9.

¹⁵ வானிருபு செரிந்த ஸுங்குபெயற் சடைநாட்
பாணி கொண்ட பங்கான் மென்னுறி
ஞெலிகோற் கலப்பை யதனொடு கருக்கிப்

The spring is the pleasantest season in the pastoral district. "The shrub, *pidā*, from which the yellow leaves had dropped down, has now put forth innumerable buds; the *nullai* (creeper jasmine) which climbs on thickets has flowered; the *cassia* (*konrai*) has produced golden flowers; the short-branched *Kāyā* (*memecylon tinctorium*) shines with efflorescence which looks like sapphires; in the morning the clouds have commenced to shower. Look! the stag full of love runs about in search of his mate, who has run away from the herd along with her timid-looking young ones on the barren ground."¹⁰

பரிப்புறத் திட்டி பாடுனடை விடைய
 னுண்பிற் தவண யொருதிற் கணைப்பத்
 தண்டுகால் லைத்த வெரடுங்குசிலை மடிவிலி
 சிறுதலைத் தொழுதி மேமார்த் தங்கும்
 புறவி னாதுவே பொய்யா யான
 எவ்வி லாயினும் விருத்தவரி னுவக்கு
 முல்ல சான்ற கற்பின்
 மெல்லியற் குதமக னுறையி னுரே.

Nar. 142.

- ¹⁰ இலையில் பிடய நீர்மல எரும்புப்
 புதலிவர் தனவம் பூக்கொடி யவிற்ப்
 பொன்னெனக் கொன்றை மலர் மணியெனப்
 பன்மலர்க் காயாங் குதஞ்செனை கனலக்
 கார்தொடல் மின்றே காவ
 உவக்காண்
 கழிப்பெயர் களரிற் போதிய மடகாண்
 விழ்க்கட் பேதையொ டுளளிரிற் தொடக்
 காமர் கொஞ்சமொ டகலாத்
 தேவே சின்ற விரலை யேறெ.

Nar. 243.

The sounds of the Mullai country are pleasant to hear. "In the darkness of the midnight when, like the sky (bright with stars) the musundai (Ipnoea candicans) with folded leaves has put forth its white flowers on the sides of the hills from whose tops drips the honey. The shepherd who gathers together the kids and carries (on his back) the mat made of palm leaves, wears the garland, from which water is dripping, made of the cool sweet smelling mullai flowers mixed with the november flowers on which bees are falling. He utters a long-drawn cry to drive off the jackals; while in glowing in his hand a slender burning-brand. This sound, and the sound of the long horn which is blown by the watchmen of the millet-field for driving away the large herd of small-eyed pigs, are characteristic of the dry land of the forest tract."¹⁷

"The houses (of this region) are built on short posts and are provided with plenty of food. (In front of

17 தேம்படு சிமயப் பாக்சுப் பம்பிய
குளவலிய முகண்ட வெண்பூக் குழைய
வானெனப் பூத்த பானுட் கஞ்சன்
மறித்தருடத் தொகுத்த பறிப்புற விடையன்
தண்கமழ் முயலி தேன்றியொடு விரைஇ
வண்டிபடத் தொடுத்த நீர்வார் கண்ணிய
னைதுபடு கொன்றி யற்கை கையர்
குறளி புளம்புங் கூடுகு வெண்கிலி
தெருட் பன்றிப் பெருகிற கடைய
முதைப்புணங் காவவர் தினைத்திருந் தூதம்
கருங்கோட் டோசையொ டொருங்குவர்
தினசக்கும்
வன்புலக் காட்டுகாட் டதுவே.

them) is placed as offering to the gods, red rice cooked and the black-eyed Karunai-tuber fried and the round-eyed and sharp-mouthed she-crow, embraces her young ones whose feathers are trembling, calls her friends, and picks up the offering."¹⁰

This description of the life of the common people might well end with a picture of a poverty-stricken house. "The high, crooked hearth has lost all memory of cooking; and fungus has grown on it. She is suffering from hunger which emaciates the body; her dry breast being without milk has become a wrinkled skin, its vent-holes have been blocked up, and the child, is chewing it, weeping. My wife looks at the face of the weeping child and her eyes and both eyelashes are filled with tears."¹¹

Minor Professions:

By this time life had become sufficiently advanced to require the exercise of all the professions now found

¹⁰ கொடுங்கட் காக்கைத் தந்தையர் பேடை
உயிருடைதப் பிள்ளை தழீஇல் விளைபயிர்த்து
கருங்கட் கருளைச் செஞ்செவ்வண் சேற
குருடைப் பவியொடு சுவரிய குறங்காத்
கழுடை சன்மனை.

Nap. 367, ll. 1—5.

¹¹ ஆடுகளி மறத்த சோதிய ருடுப்பி
ஹம்பி பூப்பத் தேம்புபரி புழுவாப்
பாடி விண்ணையிற் குருவொடு திரங்கி
பிவ்வி ஊர்த்த பொவ்வர வறமுனை
சுழைத்தொ நழுடத்தன் மகத்து முகோக்கி
கீரொடு சிறைத்த யீரிதழ் மறைசெனை
மனையோள்.

Pur. 164, ll. 1—7

in villages. These occupations furnished poets with similes. A warrior is described "to be as strong as the anvil in the smithy where the blacksmith with strong arms forcibly strikes the iron and turns it into the lance,"²⁰ "The broad leaves of the lily growing near the rivulet, caught by the long vine of the cane, which grows near the banks of the tank and has small thorns like the surface of a rasp, are moved by the fitful gusts of the north wind, and look like the bellows which are blown in the smithy and grow tense and lax alternately."²¹ "Let us eat bits of meat soaking in oil which reduces the anger of the fire and makes them look like the carded cotton wool used by women for spinning and let us drink liquor from the big bowl alternately."²² "The reapers of pulses eat the food made by husking and cooking the ragi grain which comes from the forked stalk, and also the sour porridge cooked by the cowherdess by boiling in white curds the

²⁰ இரும்பு பயன்படுக்கும் கருங்கைக் கொல்வன்
விசைத்தெறி கூடமொடு பொருட
முலைக்கல் லன்ன வல்லான்.

Pur. 170, ll. 15-17.

²¹ பொய்கை யடைகரைப் பிரம்பி
னாயா யன்ன வம்மு ணென்கொடி
யருவி யாம்ப லகவடை துடக்கி
யசைவரல் யாடை தூச்சல் னூதலை
விசைவாய்கு தேலின் யீங்குபு னென்குழம்.

Agam. 96 ll. 3-7.

²² பருத்திப் பெண்டின் பறுவ லன்ன
கொருப்புசினித் தணித்த விண்த்தயங்கு கொழுங்குறை
பருவக்கண் மண்டையென இழ்மறு பெயர்
வுன்றும்.

Pur. 125, ll. 1-4.

white flower of the Vēlai (*Cleome pentaphylla*) which grows early in the evening in the street full of the droppings of cattle.²³ Even the most grossaic work does not quench the poetic fire. Thus :—"The festival has commenced in the villages. The warrior who must attend the festival, finds that his wife is about to be delivered of a child, and he wants also to be of help to her. The sun has set in the cloudy sky; he stitches strips of leather supplied by the pulaiyan to the cot. Faster than his needle plies, the hero who wears the garland of Ātti (*Bauhinia racemosa*) flowers goes to meet the enemy who has invaded his country".²⁴ Apparently in those old times potters acted as heralds proclaiming occasions of festivity to the public, for a lady says to a potter, "Oh, wise potter, who are wearing a garland of the clusters of white nocci (*Vitex negundo*) flowers, bright like the stalk where the buds are just forming, and who are passing along the street broad as a stream and proclaiming that a festival is going to be celebrated, proclaim this also, when you are going to

²³ கைவச்சுதிர் வரகி னைவப்புற வாச்சு
ருதெரு மறுகிற் போதொடு பொதலிய
வேளை வெண்பூ வெண்டலிற் கொளிது
யாய்மக னட்ட வம்புனி மிதவை
யவரை கொய்யுக சார மாற்றும்.

Pur. 215, ll. 1-5.

²⁴ சாறுதலைக் கொண்டெனப் பெண்ணீற்றற்றெனப்
பட்டமாரி ஞான்ற ஞாயிற்றுக்
கட்டி னிணக்கு மிழிசென் கையது
போழ்துண் சேயின் லிரைந்தன்து மாறோ
சூர்கொள வந்த பொருகொ
டாப்புண் தெரிய கொடுத்தகை போரோ.

Pur. 82.

the village which has large fields where the lily grows in plenty in large tanks, 'ladies with sharp tooth and broad forelap, the troubles caused by the musician (முன்னா) who plays on strings are many; guard yourselves from his words which are a bundle of lies "²⁰'. The potter was also a priest in some kinds of sacrifices 'In the broad place of assembly of this famous place festivals are held, when the old potter wears the garland of Noeci flowers whose clusters look like sapphires and, with his hands fit for making offerings (places them on the ground) and calls (on the demons and the crows to eat them)".²¹ The magic hand of the potter has not quite lost its cunning even to-day, for when children get herpes, their mothers take them to the potter and he paints all round the eruptions, with his

²⁰ கண்ணி கட்டிய கதிர் வன்ன
வெண்குர னெஞ்சித் தெரியங்குடி
யாறவிடர் தன்ன வகொடுத் தெருவித்
சாதென நயவந் முதலாய் குயவ
விதுவு மாக்ந னுயன்றின் மாதோ
வாம்ப வமன்ற நிம்பெரும் பழனத்துப்
பொய்கை யூர்க்குப் போவே யாகித்
கைகவந் கைம்பிற் பறுவந் பாணன்
செய்த வல்லல் பங்குய வையெயிற்
தைதக வங்குன் மகலிரியன்
பொய்பொதி கொடுஞ்சொ லோம்புமி னெனவே.

Nag. 220.

²¹ மணிக் குர னெஞ்சித் தெரியல் குடிப்
பலிக ளார்கைப் பார்முது குயவ
நரிபெயி றுயவந் மகன்றினை மன்றத்து
விழவுத்தலைக் கொண்ட பழவிதன் மூனார்.

Nag. 293, ll. 1-4.

stick dipped in a solution of red ochre, the figure of the imaginary beast called *yāli*, and the children are rid of the disease—in a few days!

The washing and starching of clothes was not felt by poets to be too humble a subject for poetic treatment. "The washer woman who washes clothes ceaselessly, applies to the fine cloth, decorated with flower-work, starch which has been curdled over night,"²⁷ The spreading of the ragi on a rock to dry is described by another poet. "Girls who wear on their forearms rows of bangles and (in other parts of the body) beautiful jewels, spread the red panicum on the broad surface of a large rock."²⁸ Even the spicing of sour buttermilk on boiled milk to make it curdle, affords a simile. "Like the curdling fluid spiced on a pot of milk from the sharp nails of a languid looking cowherdess,"²⁹ The spicing of curry and rice by throwing on it fried aromatics is also frequently referred to.³⁰

- ²⁷ உடையோர் பாண்மைவிற் பெருங்கை ஞாநா
யறளில் புலத்தி யெல்லித் தோய்த்த
புசாப்புசுர் கொண்ட புன்பூங் கலிக்கம்.

Nar. 90, ll. 2—4.

- ²⁸ சிறைவனை முன்கை தேசிழை மகளி
சிருங்கல் வியலதைச் செத்தனை பாப்பி.

Kurundogai, 335, ll. 1—2.

- ²⁹ மடப்பா லாய்மகன் வன்னுகிர்ந் தெறித்த
குடப்பாந் சிவ்லதை போல.

Pur. 276, ll. 4—5.

- ³⁰ குய்க்கொன் கொழுத்துமை, 'curry of spiced
fat meat,' Pur. 160, l. 7.
குய்யுடை வடிவில், 'rice with fried spice
thrown on it. Pur. 127, l. 7.

The amusements of the boys and girls are frequently referred to by the poets. "Though children cannot enjoy the pleasure of riding in a car made by carpenter and dragged by small horses, they delight in dragging with their hands a toy-cart."²¹ "The small sand-house built on the sandy plain by girls whose shadows resemble a double bamboo, while they were bathing in the sea."²² "Girls with bright bangles throw the pestle, made of black heart-wood with which they have bruised rice flat, on the paddy separated from stalks and play with clay."²³ "With her unrivalled companions, she played in the water of the spring and her large, cool eyes became red on account of the play of the waves."²⁴ Swinging was another popular amusement; ("she got on) the hanging swing made of the black fibres of the palm well twined, and it was

- ²¹ தச்சன் செய்த நெயர் னைய
முந்தின் புருடி காயினுக் கையி
னீர்தின் புறுட மிளையோர்.

Kur. 61. ll. 1-3.

- ²² துணைத்த தோகைப் பனைப்பெருத் தேயலின்
கடலாடு மகலிர் காண வினமுத்த
நெய்மனை.

Ib. 326. ll. 1-3.

- ²³ பாசய லீடித்த கரும்பு முலக்கை
யாங்கதிர் கொல்லின் வரம்பனைத் துவிற்றி
யொண்டொடி மகலிர் வண்ட லயரும்.

Ib. 238. ll. 1-3.

- ²⁴ பொருவி வாயமோ டருவி யாடி
கீதலைச் சிவந்த பேரம் மணமுக்கண்.

Nar. 44. ll. 1-2.

swayed to and fro by her playmates who had flower-like eyes."³⁵

"Boys who have not gone to school draw, under the spotted shade of the neem tree, rectangles with a pebble like the assay-stone (of the goldsmith), and with the fruit of the Nelli as a ball, play the game called pāṇḍil."³⁶ "Girls with short bangles (spread) the nuts of the kaṇṇu (Guilandina bonduce) on the sanded floor in front of their houses to play with them."³⁷ A certain girls' game frequently referred to is the ōrai. A doll is made of sedge-grass and decked with flowers and used in the play by a party of girls of the mullai tract.³⁸ Another girls' game is that called alliyam. Two dolls, one male and the other female, were used in this game.³⁹

Superstitions :

Now for a few superstitions which prevailed among the people. As now, so in those old days, the crow announced by its cries that a guest was coming to the house. "The sweet food made from the white rice

³⁵ பெருங்கயிறு காஞ்சு மிருகபனம் பிணையற்
பூங்க னாய மூக்க.

Nar. 90. II. 6-7.

³⁶ வேம்பின் புள்ளி நீழற்
கட்டளை யண்ண வட்டாக் கெழைத்துக்
கல்லாச் சிறுஅர் வெல்லியட் டாடும்.

Nar. 3. II. 2-4.

³⁷ கன்மனைக் குறுத்தெசடி மகாரிர்
மணலாடி சுழங்கு.

Nar. 79. II. 2-3

³⁸ Nar. 155. I. 1, 68, I. 1, Pur. 176. I. 1.

³⁹ Pur. 33. I. 17.

grown all round Toppi, mixed with the ghi given by the many cattle of the herdsmen living in the forests of Nalli of the strong ear, was placed on a plate as a small offering to the crow that announced the arrival of the lover on whose account the strong shoulders of my companion have become lean."⁴⁰ Belief in omens was rampant. The directions of the flight, and the cries, of birds indicated the future success or failure of attempts. "(Poets) will blame the hour of starting and the indications of birds" when they do not get reward⁴¹. Demons were believed to reside in trees and, in the grave yards;⁴² demonesses frequented battle-fields, dug (with their fingers) into the wounds of the fallen and combed their hair with red, bloody fingers and hence looked red,⁴³ "Demonesses embraced the dead

⁴⁰ திண்டேர் கர்வி கானத் தண்டர்
பவ்வா பவத்த செய்விற் குண்டி
முழுதுடன் விசைத்த வெண்ணெல் வெஞ்சோ
குருகலத் தேர்தினுஞ் சிறிதென் குழி
பெருத்தோ ணெகிழ்த்த செவ்வற்கு
விஞர்நுயரக் கறைத்த காக்கை யதுபவியே.

Kur. 210.

⁴¹ புள்ளும் பொழுதும் பழித்தல்.

Pur. 204. l. 10.

⁴² பேரவா யமொடு பெட்டாய்கு வழுக்குங்
காடு.

Pur. 238. ll. 4-5.

⁴³ பொருதான் டொழிந்த மைத்தர்ப் புண்டொட்டுக்
குருதிச் செவ்வைக் கூத்த நீட்டி
சிறங்கிள குருவித் பேயய்ப் பெண்டிர்.

Ib. 62. ll. 2-4.

and ate the white flesh.⁴⁴ Devils possessed Pulaiya women; then they jumped about like cattle.⁴⁵ The best way to drive it away was to burn white mustard.⁴⁶ They also "cut the throat of a goat, placed a dish of millots, sounded many musical instruments in the high road, blessed the demon along with others which have not possessed the girl, and proclaimed that the girl had been possessed by a devil."⁴⁷ The demons are fond of raw human flesh and blood; so they surround wounded warriors even when alive and once they touch the raw wound, it will refuse to heal and the man dies soon. To prevent devils from touching the wound of a man his wife, "sticks into the roof the leaves of the sweet-fruited ironwood tree (iravam) and of the margosa, gets the bent-trunked yāl and other musical instruments to be sounded, slowly lifts her hands and rubs (the house) with lumps of blacking, scatters mustard all over, gets flutes to be blown, bells to be rung, and the tune called Kāñji to be sung, and smokes

⁴⁴ பேளப் மகனின் பிணந்தழுதல் பற்றி
வினாவுள் தின்ற வெம்புலால்.

Ib. 359. II. 4-5.

⁴⁵ முருகுமெம்பு பட்ட புனைத்தி போலத்
தாவுபு தெறிக்கும்.

Ib. 259. II. 5-6.

⁴⁶ ஐயவி புனைப்படிம.

Ib. 98. I. 15.

⁴⁷ மறிக்கு வறுத்துத் தினைப்பிரப் பிரிஇச்
செல்வாற்றுக் கவலைப் பல்வியன் கறங்கத்
தோற்ற மல்லது கோய்க்கு மருத்தாகா
வேற்றுப் பெருந்தெய்வம் பவவுடன் வாழ்த்தி
பேய்க்கோ ஈஇய வளனைப் படுத்தல்.

Kur. 263. II. 1-5.

the whole of the house with sweet-smelling incense."³⁸

Religious rites :

The ancient rites of worship have been referred to in chapter V and described in great detail in my Pre-Aryan Tamil culture.⁴⁰ Besides the gods recounted there, other divinities were worshipped by the ancient Tamils. The moon was one such. "Like the lamp on a boat in the middle of the ocean the red star twinkles in the broad sky."⁴¹ In its zenith stands the full moon, on seeing which the danseuse who wears small bangles and stands in the narrow path like the peacock in the forest as well as myself quickly worshipped it, did we not? For we thought that the moon resembled the white umbrella of the King."⁴²

³⁸ தீங்கணி பிரகமொடு வேம்பு மனைச்செரிது
வாங்குமருப் பிரகமொடு பவ்வியத் ததங்கு
வைபயப் பெயர்த்து மையிறு திறுதி
மையயி் இதறி வாய்ப ஓடு
யிசைமணி யெறித்து காஞ்சி பாடி
கெடுகல் உரைப்பிற் கடிதரை புதைதி.

Pur. 281, ll. 1—6.

⁴⁰ Ib. pp. 21—31

⁴¹ மாகவிகம்பு rendered here the broad sky, is an obscure phrase, variously interpreted by various commentators, and not explained by the commentator of Puram. It occurs only in late poems, such as Puram 35, l. 18, Agam 263 l. 24, Maduraiikkāṇṇi, 1.154, Paripāḍal, 47.

⁴² முக்கீர் நாம்பட் டிமிற்குடச் பேரவச்
செம் ? னினமக்கு மாக விகம்பி
ஓடுச்சி பிற் ற வடியுமறி கண்டு
கட்சி மஞ்ஞையிற் காழுதல் செர்த்த

Feeding the crow was a daily religious rite practised in every home. "In the midday the sun shines so hot that the feet of walkers are scorched. For feeding the guests who may come to the big, rich town, ladies, who wear gold bangles, cook food and place rice resembling the claws of the crane in the yard as offerings to crows. The green-eyed crows eat it and in the evening go to the broad fish-bazaar for picking the fresh prawns heaped up in the shifting shade and then perch on the mast tied to the idle boats that are tossing in the wind."²

The major religious rites in ancient days were compounded of sacrifices, ritual music and ritual dancing. One such is referred to in the following:—
"The God Murugan shines in the little village on the sides of the high hill where the white rivalet sounds. The men wear clusters of Vengai flowers dripping with honey and along with their women dance in the streets

சில்வரை விதவிதம் யானும் வல்வினைத்து
தொழுதன மல்லகை
. வளவன்
மாரை வெண்குடை யொக்குமா லெனவே.

Pur. 60. 1—6, 10-12.

²² கதிர்தால் வெம்பக் கங்காய் ஞாயிற்றத்
நிறுவுடை வியனகா வஞவிருத் தயர்மாள்
பொற்றொடி மகளிர் புறங்கடை யுருத்த
கொக்குகிர் திமிரன் மாந்தி பெற்பட
வகவங் காடி யகா நிறற் குவித்த
பச்சிருத் கவர்ந்த பகங்கட் காத்தை
தாங்கல் வங்கத்துக் கடம்பிற் சேக்கும்

Nar. 258, ll. 3-9.

keeping time with the *Toṇḍaga* drum."⁵² "The rocky floor of the yard in front of the small village surrounded by hills is beautifully strewn with the golden flowers smelling sweet and blown from the gem-like buds of the *Vēṅgai* tree under which the village assembly is held. There the *Kuṇṇavar* with their matrons dance the *Kuravai* dance and very noisily celebrate the festival."⁵³

In another poem it is said, "the fish move below the water, on the surface of the water blossoms the blue lily which is like the eye; on the fertile fields surrounded by channels the birds are driven away by the sound of the drum. From the long canal where sounds the cool water on the sand, the slow flying young bird flies away, for the *Kōṣar* drink the sweet liquor with delight and dance the

⁵² நதங்குவென் னருவி பிறங்குமலைக் கனாஅந்
தெங்கம பூணர வேங்கை குடித்
தொண்டைப் பகைநீர் பெண்டிரொடு விகாடு
மறுகிற் தாங்குஞ் சிறகுடிப் பாக்கத்
செயன் முருகு.

Agam, 118. ll. 1-5.

⁵³ சிறகுடியாங்கண்
மன்ற வேங்கை மணநாட் பூத்த
மணியே சரும்பின் பெரன்வீ தாஅப்
வியலறை வரிக்கு முன்றிற் குரவர்
மனைமுதிர் மகளி ரொடு குரவை தங்கு
மார்சலி விழவு.

Agam, 232. ll. 6-11.

Kuravai."⁵⁵ This dance of the Kōsar, who were great warriors, was a military dance. A more fierce military Kuravai dance is thus described:—"The thatch of dangling stalks of red paddy spread on straight rushes shone in different ways like a field on which a festival is celebrated. In the broad place sounding with a noise greater than that of the pestle constantly pounding corn, the angry warriors who wore the yellow war-garland of flowers with petals made of gold and inserted (in their ears) a waving ear-ornament of the palmyra leaf, dance the Kuravai and make a noise greater than that of the sea."⁵⁶

55 இழை நான் பின்வழங்குந்து
பீரீநாற் கண்ணண்ண மலர் பூக்குந்து
கழிசுற்றிய வினைகழனி
யரிப்பறையாத் புள்ளோப்புந்து
செவிரீர் கடக மணத்தண்கள்
மென்பறையாத் புள்ளீரியுந்து
நனைக்கல்லின் மனைக்கோசர்
நித்தேற னதவுமறிந்து
நிங்குரவைக் கொலைதாங்குந்து

Pur. 396. ll. 1-9.

56 வலங்கு செங்கெந் கறித் தேய்வீத
வாய் கரும்பின் கொடிக்கடைய
சாறுசொண்ட கனம்போல
வேறுவேறு பொலியுதோன்றக்
குற்றான வுலக்கையாத்
கலிச்சுமமை வியலாங்கட்
பொலந்தோட்டுப் பைந்தும்பை
வினையலய் குணிய பனைப்போற் செசீஇத்
சினமரத்தர் வெறிக்குரவை
யோத நீரிற் பெயர்பு பொல்க.

Ib. 92. ll. 14-23.

In the V century A. D. Aryan culture burst like a flood into the Tamil mind and altered every phase of life : music and dancing among other activities, were affected by it ; very soon the tunes of the ancient Tamils gave way to the artificial and elaborate melody-types of the Aryans and their primitive dances were superseded, by complicated ones divided into various classes. The original dance was either the exposition of ideas of love and war by gesture unaccompanied by words or pure dancing as a part of religious ritual. With the infusion of the Aryan culture several forms of the art were developed, and grammars on the subjects of music and dancing were composed. These books are now lost ; but the *Śilappadigaram* contains many references to the arts as practised by professional artists and its commentary describe them in great detail. The original place of dancing was the open field (*manram*) ; but this was superseded by a stage which is elaborately described in the third canto of the epic. But these changes took place in towns and not in villages.

Towns :

After the great development of trade with Rome, towns became wealthy and prosperous. In one ode of the *Agam* the *Sōla*, *Pūṇḍiya* and *Śāra* capitals, are briefly described. " For the purpose of obtaining jewels I have finished a task such as all people will approve of. Those jewels are as hard to obtain as is *Uraiṇūr* which has an assembly for maintaining justice. This town of *Uraiṇūr* belongs to the *Sōlas* who when they fight wear a garland (of the leaves and flowers) of the *Ētti* (*Bauhinia Racemosa*) and who rescue their relatives from harm, elevate their kindred and who desire and strive to

turn enemies into friends. My black-hued sweetheart has a sweet-smelling forehead and long black locks emitting scent like the bazaar street of Madura which belongs to the Pāṇḍiyan who wears an evergreen garland of margosa leaves and who possesses an army which can defeat foes who have crossed their several forts. The large town of Karūr is filled with the wealth of the Śēran who possesses numerous war-chariots and a brigade of elephants in rut, full of the fierce ardour necessary for piercing the enemy's ranks and possessed of terrible arms and strength, able certainly to kill the foes, and with a wrinkled face. In this Karūr may I embrace my mistress in the lamplight on a soft mattress of flowers resembling gathered foam, placed in a house which is so tall as to reach the sky and looks like a tunnelled hill. May I embrace her so tight that her jewels will leave a stamp on her breast, more often than there are sands heaped up on the banks of the clear-watered Apporunai river in the principal ford of Karūr.⁵⁷

- 57 கேன்கே பீண்டவுன் கிரேரு ராகவுன்
 கேனல் கேனீர் தெழீஇயின ரொழுகவு
 மான்வினைத் தெதிரிய பூக்கமொடு புகல்விதத்
 தரால் சண்ணி டடுபொர்ச் சோழ
 ரதங்கெழு கல்லவை யுதத்தை யன்னை
 பெரவரு கண்கல னெய்தி காடுஞ்
 செயவருஞ் செய்வீன முத்தின மாயி
 னரண்பல கடந்த முரண்கொ டானை
 வாடா வேப்பின் வழுதி கூட
 னுளம் காடி காற நறதத
 னீளிரும் கூத்தன் மாறு யோனொடு
 வரைசுவின் தன்ன வான்ருய் கெடுகக்

Towns increased in importance because kings resided there and the wealth and importance of kings increased with the expansion of towns. The three kings of the Tamil land began to wage wars with each other, not as in old times as an amusement for idle days or as a means of establishing personal prowess but for the purpose of extending their dominions and becoming the suzerain lords of other kings. Hence the poems of this age celebrate the military exploits of kings, though the praise of royal generosity still continues. "You, born in a line of excellent and famous heroes, who decorated the heads of bards with faded lotus-flowers made of the gold, from the face-plates of the elephants of your enemies; oh lord of Mullūr which has such dark groves, that the night stays always in them, and rivulets which sound like the drum, may you live long with your invincible retinue of relatives! Kabilan, the Brāhmana of spotless intellect, superior to that of all other men on the earth, has praised you so well that no other beggar bard has anything more to say.

தரைமுடித் தன்ன மென்புத் தேக்கை
நிலந்த பன்னி கெடுஞ்சுடர் விளக்கத்து
நவந்தே நூதம் பூண்டிப் பொறிப்ப
முயங்குக்கு சென்மோ கெஞ்சே வரிததல்
வயந்திகழ் பிழிந்தரும் வாய்புரு கடாத்த
மீயி மொய்ப்பொடு நிலனெறியாக் குறமி
யாட்கோட் பிழையா வஞ்சவரு தடக்கைக்
கறம்பகட் டியானை கெடுந்தேர்க் கோதை
திருமா வியனமர்க் கருஞர் முன்றதைத்
தெண்ணீ ருயர்க்கரைக் குணவதிய
தன்னான் பெருகை மணவிறும் பலகே.

Just as other ships cannot approach the western ocean, where the ships of the Śēran, who possesses an army of fierce warriors, bring him gold, so we cannot approach (Kābilan in poetic powers): yet, whether we are learned or unlearned, we have praised as well as we could but a small bit of your excellences, for having our distresses relieved; you are the lord of the land near the Peṅṅaiyāṟu, where your drum roars like the thunder which terrifies the serpent whose teeth are like thorns, and, along with your powerful elephants, you stay the rush of your unequal enemies and scatter them on the battle-field whose noise is difficult to hear." 29

29 தன்னார் தாண யோடைப்பொன் கொண்டு
பாணர் சென்னி பொலியத் தைது
காடாத் தாமரை குட்டிய விழுச்சி
ரோடாப் பூட்டை யுரவோன் மருக
வல்லே மல்லே மாயினும் வல்லே
நின்மயிர் கிணக்குவ மாயிற் கங்கு
துயின்மடத் தன்ன னாங்கிரு விதம்பிற்
பறைபிசை யருவி முன்னூர்ப் பொருக
தேறவரு மரபினின் னினயொநிம் பொலிய
நிலயிசைப் பார்த மக்கட் செவ்வாம்
புலனழுக் கற்ற வந்த னான
மரிசத்துசென் மக்கட் கினியிட மரிந்திப்
பரந்திசை சித்கப் பாடின தைற்கொண்டு
கிணமிரு தாண வானவன் குடகடற்
பொலந்தரு காவா யோட்டிய வவ்வழிப்
பிறகவஞ் செவ்வா தனையே மத்தை
யின்மை தூப்ப விசைதர வந்துநின்
வண்ணமயிற் றெடுத்தனம் யாமே முன்னெயிற்
றாவெறி யருமின் முரசெழுந் தியம்ப

War was still regarded as the sacrifice of blood to the war-drum, or rather the spirit resident therein. The drum was placed on a special seat reserved for it. Says a poem:—"The war-drum was taut by being bound faultlessly with strips of leather. Its black sides were bright, being made of black wood. It was decorated with the bright plumes of the peacock, and the ulīkai (Oerna lanata) flower whose golden petals are streaked and covered with spots which are blue like sapphire. The thundering drum desires the sacrifice of blood. Its seat is covered with flowers which appear like the foam of oil scattered."⁵⁰ The hankering for the older victory-sacrifice to the demons was still rooted strong in the minds of the Tamil kings, so that even after the relatively milder Vedic sacrifices were instituted at the end of this age, a poet thought it necessary to eulogise a great Pāṇḍiya warrior-king as follows:—"As the ship tears the waters of the deep sea when the wind blows upon it, so the elephant splits the

வண்ணம் யானையொடு வேந்துகனத் தொழிய
வருஞ்சமம் ததையத் தாக்கி ஈன்று
கண்ணத் தெய்வர்த் தாங்கும்
பெண்ணையம் படப்பை காடுகிழ வோயே.

Pur 126.

50 மாசற விசித்த வார்புறு வன்பின்
மைபடு மருங்கும் பொலிய மஞ்ஞை
யொலிகெடும் லீலி யொண்பொறி மணித்தார்
பொலங்குழை யுழிணையொடு பொலியச் சூட்டிக்
குருதி வேட்கை யுருசெழு முரசு
மண்ணி வாரா வளவை பெண்ணையம்
நனாமுகத் தன்ன மேன்பூஞ் சேக்கை.

Pur, 50, ll. 1-7.

enemy's ranks into two. In the broad space thus produced on the battle-field, you bore the spear with the shining broad point and killed the king and threw his army into confusion. You earned fame by capturing his war-drum. You arranged crowned heads like the stones of a hearth, used the blood-stream as water in which to boil, poured on it (the foes') brawn and brain, stirred it with your arms which wore the gauntlet of heroes as a spoon, and offered the food thus cooked to the demons."⁸⁹

Harlotry in Towns:

Town life means the growth of civilization, in its literal as well as its figurative sense. One unmistakable, if unenviable, mark of civilization is the institution of harlotry. Harlots were trained to sing and dance and were attractively dressed and beautifully decked. "The *vipali* (dancing woman) had a forelap, high and broad, which shone with rows of gems; languid looking eyes

⁸⁹ கனிகட விரஞ்சுட்டத்து
வளிபுடைத்த கலம்போவத்
கலிறுசென்று கன்னகற்றவுத்
கன்னகற்றிய வியலாங்க
ஞெளரிநிலை வெண்கேத்தி
யகாசபட யமருழங்கி
யுரைசெவ முரசுவெளவி
முடித்தலை யடுப்பாகப்
புனற்குறுதி யுலக்கொளிஇத்
தொடிதோட் டுடுப்பிற் றழந்த வஞ்சிய
னடுகனம் வேட்ட வடுப்பாற் செழிய.

painted with collyrium, and a bright face." ⁸¹ They induced susceptible husbands to play with them in rivers or tanks. One harlot, confident of her powers of charming the husband, sent the following arrogant message to the wife. "We shall insert the stiff buds of the lily in our hair and go to the big ford for playing in the flood. If she is afraid of us, let her guard her husband's breast, along with her relations, as many as the soldiers of Elini (a petty chief) of many spears with which he changed the front ranks in the fields of battle." ⁸² These women swarmed, where festivals were celebrated, to tempt men. "The beaver sleeps without hunting the Vālai fish which looks like a sword when it rolls in the tank of the town of Venni belonging to the generous Śīla king. Let me decorate my broad forehead with the stiff leaves of the lily-plant growing in the fields surrounding that town and repair to the place of festival. For if the lord of this fertile place

⁸¹ இறைபணிப் பொலிந்த வெந்துகோட் டங்குண்
மடவர ஐண்கண் வானுதல் விறவி.

Pur. 89, 11, 1-2.

⁸² உந்த வரம்பன் முழுசெறி யடைச்சிப்
பெரும்புணங் உந்த விருத்துறை விரும்பி
யாமஃ தயர்க்கு சேறுத் தானஃ
தஞ்சுவை துடைய னாயின் வெம்போர்
துகம்படக் கடக்கும் பவ்வே வெழினி
முணியான் பெருகிற போலக்
கிணியொடு காக்கதன் கொழுநன் மார்பே.

Kur. 80.

happens to see this bright young girl, he will not fail to marry her".⁶³

When these harlots went about the streets on the war-path, husbands had to be carefully guarded. Thus the foster-sister warns her friends who form the companions of the heroine of a poem. "This virali, with languid looks, with her hair scented with unguents, broad shoulders, straight, white teeth, rounded thighs pressing each other, and the beautiful garment of leaves, has come by herself making the festival-yard bright with her presence. Rise, rise and guard our dear one from her seductions."⁶⁴ Here is another passage describing the predatory pursuits of dancing women. "The festival is over. The drums are sleeping. I will tell you what this woman is contemplating to do. One day this young woman-wore

- ⁶³ காரண வாலித் பிறழ் காணும்
பொய்கை நீங்காய் வைகுதவி வேற்கும்
வைவண் கின்னி வெண்ணி குழந்த
வயல்வெள் ளாம்ப ஓருவ நெறித்தழை
யைதக லங்கு வணிபெறத் தைது
விழவிற் செலீஇடர் வேண்டு மன்னே
யாண ரூண் காணுக னாயின்
வகையா மையோ வரிதே.

Nar. 390, ll. 1-8.

- ⁶⁴ மடக்கண் டாடக் கடத்தப் பிணத்தோள்
வார்க்க வாலெயிற்றுச் சேர்த்தசெறி குறங்கிற்
பிணைய லத்தழைத் தைதித் துணையின்
விழவுக்கனம் பொலிய வத்துரின் தனனே
கழுமினோ வெழுமினெவ் கொழுந் காக்கம்.

Nar. 170, ll. 1-5.

the leaf-garland waving over her forehead and walked along the streets. The whole town laughed with as much noise as rose when Kāri who killed Ori, the famous warrior, entered the street and his enemies shouted; when the noise of laughter was heard the women, who wore bright bangles and whose complexion was like, in colour, to the tender mango leaves, guarded their husbands."⁶⁵

Resorting to hetairae caused domestic broils. The quarrel between a husband and his wife, called ūdal, is a well-known subject of poems belonging to the class called marudam. The following ode is devoted to this incident. The injured wife says, "Frightened by the noise of the drum beaten by the agricultural labourers who reap the white paddy-stalk, the birds in the fields rise and fly away; hence the marudam tree, which grows in the fields and has bent boughs, sheds its flower-clusters, in the village of Iruppai, which belongs to Virāṇ, who gives gifts of chariots. Even if my beauty, which resembles that of this place be similarly destroyed, I will not let you approach me; if I let you do

⁶⁵ விழவு முழந்தன்று முழவுத் தூங்கின்
தெயன்குறித் தனன்சொ லென்றி யாயித்
தழையனின் தலமகு மங்குற் தெருவி
வினையோ விந்தி கனைத்தற்குப் பழவிந
லோரிக் சொன்ற கொடுபெருந் தெருவித்
காரி புக்க கோர் புலம்போற்
கவ்வென் தன்னு லாரே யதற்கொண்டு
காவல் செறிய மாட்டி யாய்தொடி
யெழின் மாமேனி மகளிர்
விழுமாந் தனந்தங் கொழுநரைக் காத்தே,

Nar. 320.

so, my enclosed hands will embrace you. The sandal paste daubed on the strong round breasts (of your harlot) sticks to you. Your garland is faded. Hence to touch you is like touching a pot discarded for pollution. Do not come (near me). May the woman who stands in the street live long." ⁶⁶ Sometimes the wife condoned the husband's fault. "Come, hard, my wife who is wearing beautiful jewels gave to my house a son and heir; she was then anointed with ghi, with many mustard seeds sparkling in it. I approached her timidly and said to her, you lie on the mat, brightening the house (with your presence). You have become the mother of a son; your name has changed (from maid) to matron and you have beautiful lines on your forelap. I then pressed her blessed belly with lily flowers; she looked at me, smiled so as to display her jasmine-like teeth and covered with her hands her eyes painted with collyrium, and I laughed with joy; now she is angry with me." ⁶⁷ But at other times her fury could

⁶⁶ வெண்ணெ லச்சர் தண்ணுமை வெரீஇப்
பழைப் பல்புள் ளிசியக் கழனி
வாங்குநின் மருதத் தாங்குதனை ருதிருத்
தேர்வண் விராடி ளிருப்பை யன்னவென்
றெல்கவின் றெலையினுத் தெரிகை சா
விடேவன் விடுக்குவ னாயிற் கடைஇத்
வையுக்கை தாங்கு மதனகைக் குவையுநி
சாடிய சாந்நின் வாடிய போதையை
யாநில் கலங்கிநீடு யற்றும்
வாரல் வாழிய வைவஇயின் ரேனே.

Nar. 350.

⁶⁷ வாராய் பாண ஈருகம் தோரிதை
கடும்புடைக் கடுஞ்ஞ னங்குடித் குதவி
கொய்யே டிமைக்கு கையவித் திரன்காழ்

not be abated; and if the husband sent his bard-friend to bring about a reconciliation, it was of no use. The wife said "Bard, my clothes are stinking of ghi and the smoke of fried spices; and stained with the eye-paint of my son and with dirt. My shoulders have evil smell, because I carry my baby dripping with sweet milk from my breasts which are full of beauty-spots. Hence I am unfit to meet my husband who is riding about in a car in the streets where well-hoeked harlots reside. Hence take away your lord of many cool fords. You are skilful in playing upon the yā, the sweet-toned strings of which are like gold, but do not sing to me. The horses of the chariot which have stood for a long time, (are restive and) resent your standing here singing to me. Do not speak to me vain words which do not please me".⁴ This contumary of the wife is explained

வினங்குநகர் வினங்கக் கிடந்தோடீ குறகிப்
புதல்வ வின்னெனப் பெயர்பெயர்த் தவ்வசித்
நிதலைப யங்குண் முதுபெண் டாகித்
துஞ்சுதி யோமெல் வஞ்சி லோதியெனப்
பன்மா ணகட்டித் குவளை பொற்றி
புன்வரினா றுறைய மெற்கண்டு மெல்ல
முனை காண் முறுய பேருற்றித்
தனகமல ருண்கண் புதைத்து வந்ததவெ.

NO. 370.

- ⁴ செய்புங் குப்பு மாடி மையொடு
மகசபட் டுந்தே கலிங்கமூட் தோளூட்
நிதலைமென் னுலைத் தீம்பால் பிலிற்றப்
புதல்வர்ப் புல்லிப் புனிறுநா அம்மே
யகலிநாற மகவரீச் சேரித் தேவாந்துட்
தேவோந் கொத்தனெ மல்லே மதனாந்
பொன்புனை கரம்பி னின்குரத், திரியா

by the fact that there was no limit to the follies of men caught in the toils of these women of easy virtue. Thus reports the foster-sister to the neglected wife. "Lady with the sweet-smelling forehead, I foolishly thought that I could catch him when he was wearing earrings, garlands, and short golden bangles and, in the festival, dancing the Tunangai along with girls; he came upon me by a long circuitous road at the end of the long, straight street and I said, 'will no one take notice of your conduct'. He pretended to be a stranger to me and said that my pale colour made me look fair. I replied, 'get away, you shameless man' and have returned to you. His haughtiness was such as to charm even enemies."⁹⁹ The Tunangai was a dance in which

தொழாஅல் வல்லி யாலினுள் தொழாஅல்
கொண்டிசெல் பாணின் தண்டினை பூனைப்
பாடுமனைப் பாடல் கூடாது ஈடுகினைப்
புரவியும் பூணிலை முனிசிறு
கிரகில் மொழியல்பாம் வெட்டில் வழியே.

Nar. 380

- ⁹⁹ அறியா மையி னன்றி யத்திங்
குறையன் கோதையன் குறும்பைத் தொடியன்
விழவயர் துணைக்க தழுவுகஞ் செல்ல
செடுகிறித் தெருவிற் சைபுகு கொடுமிடை
வொதும வானன் கதுமெனத் தாக்கலின்
கேட்பா நுளர்கொ வில்லகொல் போற்றென
யாணறு பசலை யென்றன னதனெதிர்
காணிலை யெனவு வென்றவந் தினினை
செறிசரும் வினையும் செம்ம லோனென
கறுறுத லரிமை போற்றேன்
சிறுமை பெருமையிற் காணுத துணிக்தே.

Nar. 50.

men and women took part; while they danced, they bent their arms and with them kept beating their sides. It was a dance common to human beings, as well as to demons. "The terrible-gaited demoness gouged the eyes with her fingers so that her sharp nails were covered with gore, and lifted the black head with her bangled hands, sang about the field of victory where the foes were conquered in an open fight, shrugged her shoulders and the carrion-eating demoness danced the *Tuṇṇai*."¹⁰

The bard (*pāṇan*), the dancing men and women (*kūṭṭar*, *kūṭṭiyar*), and the harlot (*virali*) generally formed a group and helped each other in the exercise of their professions. And they were all patronized largely by kings and chiefs. A group of them once met a chieftain noted for being a great archer. The bard being the head of the group turned to his followers and said "Virali, while I sing, beat the drums; tune the *yā*! Play on the hautboy which has a trunk like the proboscis of an elephant; sound the cymbals; beat the small drum (*āṅḡḷi*), tap gently the *paḍalai* (another kind of drum) on one side. Give me the rod of cassia."¹¹ It

¹⁰ கருகெழு செவலி னஞ்சயரு பேய்க்கன்
குருதி யாடிய கருகிச்ச கொடுவிரத்
கண்டொட் டெண்ட சுழிமுடைக் கருத்தலை
யொண்டொடித் தடக்கையி யோன்றி வெருவா
வென்றெடு விறற்களம் பாடித் தோன்பெயரா
சிணந்தின ளாய டெனய்கை னாங்க.

Tirumur. 51-56.

¹¹ பாடியல் விறலி யோர்வண்ண நீரு
மண்முழா வனமயின் பண்யாழ் சிறுமின்
கண்கிடு னம்பிற் களித்தயிற் தொடுமி

is needless to add that the chief plied them amply with meat and drink and gave them gold; in the words of the bard, "He gave them the boiled fat flesh of the deer he killed with his arrow, liquor which looked like melted cows' ghi, and good gold and heaps of gems born in his mountain."⁷²

Seaports:

With the great development of trade with Rome in the very beginning of the Christian era, seaport towns rose to great importance, and so were mentioned in poems. The northern-most port of the East coast to be so mentioned is Māvil-āgai, probably identical with what later was called Mallai and still later, Mahābalipuram. "It possesses water-ways which sound always; the girls with bright bangles, crowded together for playing ōrai, stirred the dark mud which the hog had turned up and got from there the turtle-eggs smelling of flesh and the tuber of the lily smelling of honey."⁷³

மெல்லரி தெருபி னுருவி தெருபின்
பதிலை யொருகண் அபயென வியக்குமின்
மதிலை மார்க்கோல் அகவந் தருமின்.

Pur. 172, ll. 13-16.

72

யேட்டத்திற்

குணுயிர் செருத்த மாணிணப் புழுக்கோ
டாறுருக் கன்ன யேரினய எங்கித்
தன்மலைப் பிதத்த தாவி னன்பொன்
பண்மணித் குணய யொடும்.

Ib. ll. 25-29.

73

நூர் யாயத் தொண்டொடி மகயிர்
சேற னுருத லிருந்தேற விரைப்பின்
யாழையின் புலவு காறு முட்டையைத்
தேனா கும்பத் திறக்கொடு பெறு.
மிழுமென கொலிக்கும் புளும் புதலிற்
பெருமா விலங்கை.

Pur. 176, ll. 1-6.

This place is also described as one " whose shores are struck by beams of sweet-flowered nāgam (*calophyllum longifolium*), agallochum (*agil*), and sandal wood, which form floats for the shoulders of girls bathing in the flood. The old, great Ilāṅgai cannot be destroyed by any ".¹⁹

At the mouth of the Kāviri stood Pugār or Kāviri-pūmbaṭṭam, famous from ancient days. It is therefore mentioned in various poems. Pugār had such a good harbour that " big ships could enter it without changing the mast and sails or (being, eased by) its heavy load being taken off; and labourers could throw (the goods coming from the sea) in the middle of the street ".²⁰ " Pugār belongs to prosperous kings who derive revenue from (goods landed on) the expansive seashore where is spread white sand heaped up by the sand-shoals caused by the sand brought by the great Kāviri which has broad fords, where flowers open out and in which water flows fast. In this town surrounded by tanks, brides, after beautifying the yard under the banyan tree where resides the three-eyed Lord of the old books of the four vedas whose blessed sounds spread throughout

¹⁹ நதவீ ஈரகழு மகிழ் மாறழர்
தறையாடு மகவிரிக்குத் தோட்டினை யாநிய
பொருபுன தருகம் போக்கரு மரபிற்
ஞென்மா நிலத்தை.

Sirupāṇ, II. 116-119.

²⁰ மீப்பாய் கசையாத மிசைப்பாச் தோண்டாத
புகாஅர்ப் புருந்த பெருக்கலச் தகாஅ
நிலைப்புலப் பெருநழிச் சொரியும்.

Pur. 30, II. 11-13.

the world, make images with their hands and drop them in the ford. The mansions of this town, which has battlements reaching the sky and a gateway with a top like the (imaginary beast) Magaram, are as tall as the sky." "The town on the broad (banks of) the renowned Kāviri in the midst of long-salt marches where flowers grow."⁷⁶

Pupaiyāru (or Pupandai) was another East coast port, described in two odes.

"During the night when the big waves are roaring and the clouds are motionless, the lamp set at Pupandai, by the fishermen who hunt for fat fish, to remove the darkness of the black sea, shines like the bright light placed on the moving face-plate of the elephant which waves its trunk in the camp of the king who wears jewels on his arms. Pupandai has on

76 பூவிதி மகன்றரைச் சிறைவிசைச் செஞ்ச
காவிரி பேசியநற் தவிர்கொண் டென்டி
மெக்க சிட்ட ருப்பை மென்மணல்
வைப்பின் யாணர் வளர்கெழு வேந்தர்
ஞான காது அலங்கெழு அவ்விசை
நான்மறை முதுதால் முக்கட் செவ்வ
ஞல் முற்றிக் கவின்பெறத் தைஇப்
பெரங்கை குழித்த பொழிண்மண மகளிர்
கைசெய் பாணவ துறைக்க னீறக்கு
மகச செற்றி யான்றோய் புரிசைச்
சிகரக் தோன்றாச் செணுயர் அவ்விந்
புகாஅர்.

Agam, 181, II, 11-22.

77 பூவிதி செங்குழி காப்பட் பெரும்பெயர்க்
காவிரிப் படப்பை பட்டினம்.

Agam, 205, II, 11-12.

its beach groves of the Alexandrian laurel on which flowers grow in clusters; its chief is Periyān, the great patron of singers to 'whose chariot horses are yoked.' The harbour of Puṟṟudai, in the midst of groves of the screw pine, is very noisy.¹⁰ "Poṟaiyāru, which is smelling of toddy, whose chief is Periyān who is sitting on his beautiful chariot, after having drunk sweet-smelling toddy."¹¹

Koṟkai was the chief seaport of the Pāṇḍyas. "In the broad expanse of the sea near this harbour of Koṟkai grow pearls of excellent water."¹² "The valiantly fighting Pāṇḍiyar guard with justice the fair, large port of Koṟkai which produces pearls."¹³ "Koṟkai belongs to the

- ¹⁰ பெருத்தினை முழக்கமொ டியத்தலித் திருத்த
கொண்ட ிரவி னிருக்கடன் மடுத்த
கொழுநின் கொன்பல ரிருணீங் கொண்கட
சோடாப் பூட்டை யேந்தன் பாசறை
பாடியல் யானை யணிமுதத் தகைத்த
யோடை யொண்கட கொப்பத் தேன்றும்
பாடுசுத் தொடுத்த கைவண் கோமான்
பரிபுடை ஈந்தேர்ப் பெரியன் விரியினர்ப்
புன்னையல் காணத் புறத்தை முன்னுறை.

Agam, 100, ll. 5-13.

- ¹¹ நறவுமலி திருக்கை ஈந்தேர்ப் பெரியன்
கட்கமழ் பொறை யாறு.

Nar. 131, ll. 7-8.

¹²

சாண்டீர்

முத்துப்பலி பாப்பிற் கொற்கை முன்னுறை.

Nar. 23, ll. 5-6.

- ¹³ மதப்போர்ப் பாண்டிய நறத்திற் காக்குங்
கெற்கையல் பெருத்துறை முத்து.

Agam, 27, ll. 9-10.

Pāṇḍiyar who possesses a beautiful chariot to which are yoked beautifully trotting horses whose hoof-marks cannot be traced on (the ground covered with) the cool-rayed pearls which the surging waves yield."² "The brilliant pearls from the harbour of the famous Koṭṭai which belongs to the valiant fighter, the Pāṇḍiyan,"³ "They barter for the sweet-smelling toddy, filtered in the web of the palmyra leaf, the pearl-oysters brought by the men who fish in the broad sea,"⁴ "The fishermen who from white boats dive into the black sea, avoid the attacks of the shark and bring up the right-whorled chank, blow on the sounding shell and thus a great noise rises in Koṭṭai."⁵

The chief Śera port was Muṣṭi. "The flourishing town of Muṣṭi, where the large, beautiful ships of the

- *2 இவர்களை தந்த வீரக்கதிர் முத்தம்
கவர்கடைய் புரலிக் கால்கடுத் தபுக்கு
சுற்றேர் வழுதி கொற்கை முன்றறை.

Agam, 130, ll. 9-11,

- *3 வீறற்போர்ப் பாண்டியன்
புகழ்மலி சிறப்பிற் கொற்கை முன்றறை
பலிக்கதிர் முத்தம்.

Agam, 201, ll. 3-5,

- *4 பசப்பிற்
பண்டின் கொன்பயர் முகத்த விப்பி
காசரி சுறவின் மலிழ்கொடைக் கூட்டும்.

Agam, 256, ll. 7-9.

- *5 இரும் பசப்பி செழிசுரு கீகடு
யலம்புரி முழுவிய வான்நிலிற் பாதவ
சொலிதலைப் பணில மார்ப்பக் கல்லெனக்
கலிகெழு கொற்றை.

Agam, 320, ll. 10-13

Yavanas which bring gold and take pepper, come disturbing the white foam of the little, fair Periyāru of the Śeralar."⁸⁶ "They sell fish and bring on boats heaps of paddy which fill the house. The pepper heaped in the house is put into bags which are thrown in confusion on the noisy beach. The gold brought in the ships are brought ashore in the boats which ply in the backwater. The products of the sea and the mountain are mixed together and are given away to guests. In Muṣuri which belongs to the Kuttuvan who wears a gold garland and where the roar of the sea is heard, toddy flows like water."⁸⁷

"6

தேவர்

சுந்தரியம் பேரினாற்று வெண்ணை அகக்க
யவனர் தந்த நினைமா ணன்கலம்
பொன்னெடு ய்த்த கறிவெடு பெயரும்
வளம் செழு முகிறி.

Agam, 149, II, 7-11.

"7

மீனெடுத்த செற்குணவடு
விசையம்பியின் மனைமதக்குத்த
மனைக்குணவடு கறிமுடையாற்
அவிச்சும்தைய சைகலக்குத்த
அலத்தத் பொற்பரிசு
கழித்தோணியாற் சைசேர்க்குத்த
மலைத்தாழும் கடற்றாழும்
தலைப்பெய்த வகுச்சேயும்
புனலம் சுள்ளின் பொலத்தார் குட்டுவன்
முழங்குடன் முழலின் முகறி.

Pur, 343, II, 1-10.

It may be noted that the place is called here Muṣuri. Certain lines in the ode are rather obscure.

The people living on the sea-coast were used to shipwrecks, from which the striking simile in the next ode is derived. "As when the wind grows strong and the storm beats, the ship is upset and the terrified crew fall down and many men seize one plank, so my friend, in the street where the small, beautiful yā is humming like the fair bee, the bejewelled harlots, who once had possession of your heart and are shedding hot tears because you have deserted them, catch hold of you and are pulling you in different directions. I have seen with my eyes this your distress; but how can I help you?"**

In the many poems quoted in this chapter may be specially noted the fundamental characteristics of Indian art—literary or plastic. The aim of Indian art is primarily decorative and not imitative. The artist does not desire to reproduce natural objects, more or less idealized, but to decorate the thing he has in hand; there is no limit to the amount of this decoration. Every inch of the material worked on is beautified with a bit of decoration such as it is

** கண்டனென் மகிழ்ந் கண்டவென் செய்கொ
பாணன் னையது பண்டுகடச் சீறியாழ்
யாணர் வண்டி னிம்மென விரிநு
மேந்தரு தெருவி னெதிர்தரி கோக்கின்
மார்புதலைக் கொண்ட மாணியை மகளிர்
கவலை முற்ற வெய்துயி முசிப்பனி
காலே முற்றப் பைதரு காலைக்
கடன்மரங் கவிழ்தெனக் கவங்கி புடன்வீழ்பு
பலர்கொன் பலகை பேரல
வாங்க வரங்கின் அங்களு சிலையே.

susceptible of. Hence in poetry every noun is furnished with an adjective, and if the adjective happens to be a phrase, the noun within that phrase is provided with an epithet, till the whole poem looks like the entrance-tower (gōpuram) of our temples, studded with decorations, which to a mind trained in the principles of Greek art is maddening, and which renders translation into English very difficult. The South Indian artist's mind is apparently influenced by the profusion of the growth of leaves and flowers in the tropical forests, the contemplation of which has inspired Indian art through the ages.



CHAPTER XVIII.

FOREIGN TRADE IN THE FIRST HALF MILLENNIUM A. D.

The time of Augustus :

In the time of the Emperor Augustus there was a great development of India's trade with Rome. The increase of Roman influence at Palmyra and the consolidation of Roman power in Alexandria, the principal emporium of trade between the East and the West, were the causes of the sudden expansion of this trade. The internal dissensions that eventually led to the disruption of the Imperial power had not then begun : hence arose an unrestrained indulgence in Eastern luxuries on the part of the leaders of fashion among the Roman men and women.

Trade in living animals :

Of the articles that were imported into the Roman Empire from India, there is ample information in the Greek and Latin books of the period. The trade in mammals and birds was indirect and conducted through the land-route. Fashionable ladies had as pets "Hanuman, Madras, Malabar and Nilgiri langurs of India On a silver dish found at Lampsacos India is represented as a woman surrounded by a parrot, a guinea-fowl, a tiger, a leopard, and hanuman monkeys ; though the guinea-fowl was certainly African, the others were Indian." ¹ "The four specimens of (Indian) tigers

¹ Warmington op. cit. p. 147.

exhibited by Claudius created perhaps a great impression, for on a mosaic found near the arch of Gallienus are represented four tigers eating their prey. A passage in Petronius appears to indicate that a tiger was carried about in a gilded cage, probably in Nero's reign and gorged with the blood of human victims . . . Several more were exhibited by Domitian."² The other South Indian mammals which were imported into the Roman Empire were the buffalo, and the elephant. The white elephant was a special attraction at Rome in the time of Augustus, who had large numbers of elephants killed. Under the Empire elephants were used for drawing the ceremonial cars of the Emperors.³

Several species of parrots formed favourite cage-birds of Roman ladies and were frequently engraved upon classical gem-stones. "In the time of Augustus (they) were kept in wicker cages, but by the time of Martial and Statius in cages of ivory or tortoise shell adorned with ivory and provided with silver wires—a pretty picture of Roman luxury ministered to by the far East. . . Supplies increased during the second century, for Pausanias speaks of parrots and other terata (monsters, marvels) brought from India, and Arrian declines to describe the birds, while Elgabalus obtained such large supplies that he could create table luxuries out of the heads of parrots, and feed his lions and other animals upon them."⁴ Other birds that went from India were pheasants, (the "Phoenix" that was exhibited by Claudius in 47 A. D. being probably a golden pheasant) the

² Ib. p. 148.

³ Ib. p. 152.

⁴ Ib. p. 154.

peacock, and dwarf fowls. Snakes were also obtained from India by Hadrian and others.³

Trade in animal products:

Animal products were taken by the sea-route. Hides and furs were the chief of them. "Pliny's reference to 'Chinese' iron, tissues and skins is now taken to refer in reality to products obtained not from the Chinese but from 'Chera' kingdom in South India, so frequently visited by Greek merchants from the reign of Claudius onwards, "a 'Seres' named as the source of these goods being used for *Sēra* as much as for China. The next animal product sent from India was butyron, i.e., ghi,⁴ prepared from the milk of the buffalo. No doubt it was sent in leather skins. "Fryer, in 1672-81, speaks of tanks of ghi in the Deccan, 400 years old, of great value medicinally and of high price."⁵

Ivory was one of the most important animal products sent from India to Rome. Indian ivory is "mentioned frequently as soon as the Roman Empire begins. That the Roman commerce in ivory was enormous is shown by the large number of uses to which it was put—the references in ancient writers being very common and the surviving articles in ivory endless. In literature alone we find it used for statues, chairs, beds, sceptres, hilts, scabbards, chariots, carriages, tablets, book-covers, table-legs, doors, flutes, lyres, combs, brooches, pins, scrapers, boxes, bird-cages, floors, and so on, and extant examples in their multitudes would add

³ *Ib.* pp. 155-157.

⁴ *Ib.* pp. 157-8.

⁵ *Periplus*, 41.

⁶ Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 177.

to an already remarkable list."⁹ South Indian supplies of it were sent from Musiris, and Nelcynda.¹⁰ References to the Indian tortoise shell are frequent from the beginning of the Empire; it was used as a veneer for rich furniture. This was partly derived from the turtles of the Indian coasts and also from the sea round the Malay peninsula.¹¹

The costliest animal product that was imported from India by the Roman Empire was the pearl from the gulf of Mannar. Madura and Uraiyūr had the chief pearl-marts whence the Roman merchants got it. Pearls became so fashionable with ladies that "beginning with the Jewish philosopher Philon of Alexandria and St. Paul, we find moralists lamenting the wearing of pearls by women and girls."

Drain of Roman gold :

In 23 A. D. the Emperor Tiberius (14-37 A. D.) deemed it necessary in the public interest to write to the Roman Senate, "If a reform is in truth intended, where must it begin? How are we to deal with the peculiar articles of female vanity, and in particular with that rage for jewels and precious trinkets which drain the empire of its wealth (Tiberius meant gold) and sends in exchange for baubles the money of the Commonwealth to foreign nations?"¹² In the time of the Emperor Claudius (41-54 A. D.) Arabian domination in the Red Sea was well brought under control. By the close of his reign was developed a great direct sea-trade

⁹ Warmington, *op. cit.* p. 163.

¹⁰ *Pेरिplus*, 56.

¹¹ Warmington, *op. cit.* pp. 166-167.

¹² Tacitus, *Annals*, iii. 53.

in gems and pearls. This trade grew to enormous proportions in the time of Claudius and Nero (54-68 A. D.) so that Pliny complained in 70 A. D. that India drained gold to the value of nearly a million pounds a year, "giving back her own wares, which are sold among us at fully a hundred times their first cost."¹² Pliny had good cause to complain of this drain of gold, for the chief imports of the Tamil country were gold and silver Roman coins (South India did not seem to have developed the art of coinage by that time) and wine. Roman coins were buried in the earth in different places along the breadth of Tamil India from the Malabar to the East Coast.

Trade in plant products:

Of the plant-products exported from South India to Rome the chief were aromatics and spices. Early in the imperial era pepper became a staple article of Rome's sea-trade with India. Pepper went chiefly from Malabar and Travancore. It was so eagerly sought for by the Romans that in this age the name 'Yavanapriya,' 'dear to the Romans,' (by now the name 'Yavana' was extended to the Romans both in Sanskrit and Tamil), was given to pepper. White pepper was specially prized because it was less pungent but more tasty than black. It is said that pepper formed more than half the cargo of many a west-bound ship; for it was more important than salt or sugar in the cookery-books of the day.¹³ Ginger was also imported from India, but more as medicine than for culinary purposes.

¹² Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vi. 26.

¹³ Warmington, *op. cit.* p. 182.

Cardamom was used both in medicines and in perfumes; so too cinnamon. It is curious that cinnamon-leaf, called *malabathrum*, was known to be Indian, but the Romans thought that 'cassia,' its root, and the wood were grown in Africa; so cleverly did the Arabian traders conceal its origin from the Romans. The oil of the spikenard was another highly prized article. Under the name 'nard' was included various articles, including the oil of ginger-grass and lemon-grass. Nutmegs and cloves were begun to be imported in the period of Rome's decline. Gingelly-oil, and sugar, i.e. jaggery, called by Strabo 'honey obtained from trees in India without the aid of bees,'¹⁵ were minor articles of trade.

Cotton cloth was a very large item in the exports from South India. The "Argaritic" muslin, sent from Uraiyūr (now Trichinopoly), called *Argaru* by the *Periplus*,¹⁶ was the chief of them. Cotton was also exported from South India. "The edict of Diocletian shows that stuffed mattresses and pillows were made from Indian cotton . . . Palestine also received much Indian cloth."¹⁷

Of the woods imported by the Romans from India, some were ornamental and timber woods and others, fragrant ones used as unguents and medicines. Of the former the chief were ebony, rosewood and teak wood.¹⁸ Of the latter the chief were sandal-wood, red sanders, agil, and makoir (supposed to be 'Tellichery

¹⁵ Warmington, op. cit. p. 209.

¹⁶ *Ib.* 59.

¹⁷ Warmington, op. cit. p. 212.

¹⁸ *Periplus*, 36.

bark.¹⁹ The *Periplus* testifies to the export of coconut oil and Pliny, of the banana, rice, millets, and various medicinal plant-products, like nutmegs, and tamarind; the betel-leaf and nut, are also mentioned by various writers.

Trade in mineral products:

Of the products of the mineral world, the diamond ('*adamas*') was the costliest article sent to Rome from *Muziris* and *Nolecynda*. "The ancient Indians seem to have checked the exportation of large diamonds, but still the Romans obtained large and famous specimens, perhaps used as amulets after the Indian example."²⁰ Agate, carnelian, sard, onyx, and bloodstone, besides, were largely exported from India. Cups hollowed out of precious stones were much prized. From Pliny²¹ we learn that Nero paid one million sesterces for one cup of emerald (which the Roman writer calls Indian agate). Rock-crystal glasses stained so as to look like precious stones were also obtained from India by the Greeks and Romans.²² The ruby and the sapphires were also sent from South India; so also beryl.²³

"The Roman trade in Indian iron and steel was an important one . . . (The) excellent Parthian metal was perhaps really Indian. Eventually they (the Greeks) learnt the secret of production, for Saumaise points out a special Greek treatise on the tempering of Indian steel . . . The bulk of Roman importation consisted

¹⁹ Warmington, *op. cit.* pp. 315-316.

²⁰ *Ib.* p. 236.

²¹ *Nat. Hist.* vi. 26.

²² Warmington, *op. cit.* p. 246.

²³ *Periplus* 56.

not of large quantities of ore, but objects made of iron and steel. The Romans worked it into fancy cutlery, as Clemens shows, and perhaps into armour at Damascus (whither Indian metal was sent)."²⁴

Imports from Rome:

In exchange for these articles the Romans sent chiefly coins, but also coral and wine, and lead and tin.²⁵ But the adverse balance, adverse to Rome, was so great that the Indian trade seriously affected the coinage of Rome. The influence of this trade on the fortunes of this imperial city has been thus described by Schoff, the editor of the *Periplus*. "This extravagant importation of luxuries from the East without adequate production of commodities to offer in exchange, was the main cause of the successive depreciation and degradation of the Roman currency leading finally to its total repudiation. The monetary standard of Rome was established by accumulations of precious metal resulting from its wars. The sack of the rich city of Tarentum in 272 B. C. enabled Rome to change her coinage from copper to silver. After the destruction of Carthage and Corinth in 146 B.C. gold coinage came into general use and through the wars of Caesar gold became so plentiful that in 47 B. C. its ratio to silver was as 1 to 1.9, lower than ever before or since. Under Augustus the ratio was about 1 to 9.3, the aureus being worth 25 silver denarii. Under Claudius the sea-route to India was opened, after which came the reign of Nero, marked by every form of wastefulness and extravagance, during which the silver

²⁴ Warmington, *op. cit.* pp. 207-8.

²⁵ *Periplus*. 56.

denarius fell from 1.84 to 1.96 pound of silver, an alloy of 20 per cent copper being added to it. Under Trajan the alloy reached 30 per cent, and under Septimius Severus 50 per cent. Finally, under Elagabalus, 218 A. D. the denarius had become wholly copper and was repudiated. Even the golden aureus was tampered with. Exported in large quantities to become the basis of exchange in India, the supply at home was exhausted. Under Augustus the aureus weighed 1.40 of a pound of gold, and under Diocletian it weighed but 1.60. Under Constantine it fell to 1.72 when the coin was taken only by weight (Sabatier, *Monnaies Byzantines*, i. 51-2; Brooks Adams, *Law of Civilization and Decay*, 25-8). It was this steady loss of capital, to replace which no new wealth was produced that led finally to the abandonment of Rome and to the transfer of the capital at the end of the 3rd century to Nicomedia, and soon afterwards to Byzantium."²⁶

The Periplus on South Indian ports:

The author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (Guide-book to the Indian Ocean) who wrote about 60 A.D. describes, besides North Indian ports, those of the Tamil Country. He mentions, among others, Tonḍi, Musiri and Comari (Cape Comorin, Kumari in Tamil), where "came those men who wish to consecrate themselves for the rest of their lives, and bathe and dwell in celibacy; and women also did the same, for it is told that a Goddess once dwelt here and bathed."²⁷ It has already been pointed out that from the rise of the different Āgama cults and of various ascetic orders,

²⁶ Schoff's *Periplus*, pp. 219-220.

²⁷ *Periplus*, 58.

Bhikṣus and Bhikṣuṇīs sought refuge from the turmoil of the world and performed tapas in the remote corners of the forests of Southern India. We now learn from the *Periplus* that, as now, even in the I century A.D. Sādhus and Sanyāsīs travelled to Cape Comorin to bathe in the sea, and that, at this early date, had arisen the legend of some (probably mortal) maiden waiting for Śiva to marry her at Cape Comorin, where her effigy still stand patiently. Perhaps this legend existed from the days of the Mahābhārata. But yet the Śiva-worshippers of the North do not seem to have actively attempted to spread the Aryan cult of Śiva in the Tamil country, for the bulk of the Tamil people continued to live in the I century A.D., unattracted by the desperate anxiety of the Āryas to seek by devotion to Śiva, means of escape from the ills that flesh is heir to.

After Comari the *Periplus* describes Colchi (Kōṛkai) "where the pearl-fisheries are; they are worked by condemned criminals, and it belongs to the Pandian Kingdom."¹⁹ Beyond Kōṛkai was the "Coast Country," by which the *Periplus* means the coast of the Śōḷa nāḍu. It has a region inland called Argaru (Uṛaiyūr) probably from the Sanskrit form Uragapura, where "and nowhere else, are brought the pearls gathered on the coast therabouts; and from there are exported muslins, those called Argaritic."²⁰ To the north of Uṛaiyūr lie the Salem and the Cuddappah districts, then, as now, famous for cotton manufacture.

The author of the *Periplus* did not travel beyond Kōṛkai and his account of the East Coast, being based

¹⁹ *Periplus*, 59.

²⁰ *Periplus*, 59.

on hearsay, and that, not so searching as Ptolemy's, is very unsatisfactory. The Śōla ports he mentions are Camara, Poduka and Sopatma. The chief Śōla ports of the time were Kōḍikkaraī, Nēgaratam and the mouth of the Kāviri. The *Periplus* says that from the ports on the south part of the East Coast, large vessels, called Colaudia, sailed to the Ganges and to Chryse (probably Burma, then called Suvannabhūmi). "There are imported into these places everything made in Damirike, and the greatest part of what is brought at any time from Egypt comes here, together with most kinds of all the things that are brought from Damirike and of those that are carried through Paralia (Travancore coast)."²⁰

A Roman colony in Madura

In this age there was a Roman colony at Madura, for besides the gold and silver Roman coins found in several places of South India "innumerable copper coins have been found in Madura in the waste places about the town and the sandy bed of the river in the dry months. The presence in many different places in the same town of Roman copper coins found lying in the ground and in the sandy bed of the river, seems to imply that these coins were in daily circulation and were dropped carelessly or otherwise lost by the inhabitants of the place."²¹

These copper coins must have been brought to the place by Roman merchants for their own use. They could certainly not have been imported for use as currency in the Indian bazaars (as gold and silver coins were) for their bulk would have made the provision of

²⁰ *Periplus*, 60.

²¹ J. R. A. S. 1906, p. 610.

shipping accommodation impossible. It is equally absurd to hold that they could have been imported for the purpose of melting for making pots and other useful articles, for in those days India got all the copper she wanted from her own mines. The Peutingerian Tables which are a kind of maps copied from the fresco paintings in Rome, at a date somewhat earlier than Ptolemy, place near Muziris (Musiri) on the west coast, a temple of Augustus. Ptolemy who composed his geography about 150 A.D. tells us that he obtained part of his knowledge from people who had resided in India for a long time. These facts prove that colonies of Roman merchants lived in several commercial centres of the Tamil Country.

Romans in South India :

There is, besides, plenty of evidence in the Tamil literature of the period, to prove that Roman merchants, Roman soldiers and Roman artificers, lived in various parts of the Tamil country. The Roman merchants brought wine and gold coins into South India, and the name 'yavana' which originally meant 'Greek' was by this time extended to the Romans too, the Greeks having sunk to insignificance in matter of International relations. A poem refers to "the cool, sweet-smelling wine, brought by the yavanas, in beautiful vessels (vases, presumably) and drunk daily from gold cups held by damsels who wore bright bracelets."² Another poem refers to the import of gold coins. It says that "the beautifully built ships of the yavanas came, agitating the white

² யவனர் நன்கலத் தந்த தண்கமழ் தேறல்

பொன்செய் புனைகலத் தேத்தி காணு

மொண்டிடாடி நகரில் மடுப்ப,

Pur. 56, ll. 18-20.

foams of the Pēriyāṟu, with gold and returned with pepper, and Musiṟi resounded with the noise."²²

Roman soldiers settled in the Tamil country and were employed as bodyguards of Tamil Rājas. They are described in the following terms:—"The valiant eyed yavanas whose bodies were strong and looked terrible and who wore besides a coat (lit. body-bag) a long piece of cloth (toga) hanging low and with many folds in which was concealed the whip with which horses were whipped."²³ Hence they acted also as the gate-keepers of palaces. "The yavanas with murderous swords, excellent guardians of the gates of the fort-walls."²⁴

Roman military engines in South India:

Besides merchants and soldiers, many Roman engineers and artificers settled in the Tamil land. The Roman engineers made for the use of Tamil Rājas battering rams with which to destroy the walls of forts as well

²² பேரியாற்று வெண்ணுரை கலங்க
யவனர் தந்த வினைமா ணங்கலம்
பொன்னெடு வந்து கறியொடு பெயரும்
வனங்கெழு முனிநி யாப்பெழ.

Agam. 149. ll. 9-13.

Puṇam 343 refers to the same fact but does not mention the Romans.

²³ மத்தினை வலையு மறித்துவிட்டு செறிவுடை
மெய்ப்பை புக்க வெருவருத் தோற்றத்து
வலிபுணர் யாக்கை வன்கண் யவனர்.

Mullaippāṭṭu. ll. 59-61.

²⁴ கடிமதில் வாயில் காவனிற் சிறத்த
வடவ்வான் யவனர்.

Śil. xiv. ll. 66-67.

as numerous engines of defence which were planted in front of the fort-gates. Tolkāppiyam defines Ujīṣai, one of the stages of war, as comprising the siege and the defence of a fort.¹⁶ Naccinārkkiniyar, the commentator, explains that forts possessed engines made by Yavanas. In this explanation, the commentator records an old tradition which says that the Romans manufactured engines of war for the ancient Tamil Rāyas. That the walls of forts were provided with engines is indicated by the phrase "the small entrance of the fort-gate provided so thickly with engines that even the moon could not pierce through."¹⁷ In the Śilappadigāram is given a list of engines kept at the gates of the royal palace at Madura. They were "mechanical bows which shot arrows, engines like the black-fingered monkeys for hitting foes, mechanical slings which vomited stones, engines that scattered boiling oil, pots with boiling copper, fires boiling steel and throwing them in all directions, baskets which discharged stones, mechanical angling-rods, chains, mechanical fowls for pecking at the brain of assailants, iron forks, stakes, bundles of arrows, machines for shooting small arrows, pig-machines bamboo-machines, beams so arranged as to fall on those that forced open the gate, strong beams, missiles, spears, etc."¹⁸

¹⁶ முழுமுத ஸரண முற்றுத் கோட்டை
மேன்கொளி மாபிற் குரு மென்ப.

Tol. Por. ii. 10.

¹⁷ திங்களு நடைமுறை வெந்திரப் பரிபுறம்.

Pur. 177. l. 5.

¹⁸ யணவிற்ப பொறியும்

சுருவிர ஓங்குமுல் கண்ணமிழ் கவணம்
பரிவுறு வெந்தொய் பாகடு குழிபெய்
காய்பொன் னுணையக் கல்லிடு கடைபுல்

Another poem, the *Sivakasinaṭṭamaṇi*, though belonging to the next half-millennium, may be usefully quoted in this connection. "The hundred-killer and machines for throwing down and beating people, visible demons, mechanical elephants and snakes that swallowed (men) and eagles looking like Yama, chains, lances, and (mechanical) tigers, mechanical bows that shot their own arrows, mechanical cruel horses, (that of themselves charged the enemy), swords that went on killing the foe, engines that throw stones, human statues and figures of swans that spat red flames, burning balls of iron made by black-smiths, big storks, owls, beams which crushed heads, machines that poured boiling copper, boiling steel, and boiling oil, that threw arrows, spears and stones, machines invented by the Yavanas made by the help of their intelligence: pigs made of iron, angry looking snakes, carts that were propelled (by machinery), monkeys, battering-rams, and thin ropes that cut off (heads)."¹¹

தாண்டிதல் தொடக்கு மாண்டலை யறிப்புந்
கவையுந் கழுவுந் புதைபுந் புழையு
மைவலிந் துலாமும் கைபெய குகியுந்
சென்றெறி சிரனும் பன்றியும் பனைபு
மெழுவுந் பிப்பு முழுவிதந் கண்ணமும்
கோலும் குத்தமும் வேலும் பிறவும்.

Sil. xv. 207—216.

- ¹¹ தூற்றுவரைக் கொல்லியொடு
தாக்கி யெறி போறியுந்
தோற்றமுறு பேய்களெந் துற்றுபெரும் பாம்புந்
கூற்றமன கழுருதொடர் குத்தமொடு கோண்மா
விற்பொறிகள் வெய்ய விடுகுதினை தொடரயில்வான்
கற்பொறிகள் பாணவென மாடமடு செந்திக்

Besides Roman military engineers, Roman artizans settled in South India. The workmanship of yavanataccar, Roman artizans, is frequently praised in early Tamil poems. E. g., 'the bowl of the lamp held in the hands of the statue of beautiful workmanship made by the yavanas.'¹⁰ The yavana artizans are mentioned in the *Maṇimēgalai*, along with the expert workers of Magada, Marūtta, Avanti and the Tamil land.¹¹

The *Peruṅṅadai*, a long epic composed in the second half-millennium A. D., frequently mentions the yavanas. It mentions 'yavana ornaments',¹² 'the beautiful lamp on statues made by yavanas',¹³ a *magara viṇai*, ornamen-

கொற்புனைசெய் கொற்பரிபெருஞ் கொக்கொழிச்செய்
கூரை

எத்தலை கழுதும்பும் வனிகொருங்கு மச்சிலையே
செம்புருகு செங்கனிசு ஞாழிழுவதிரித் தெங்கும்
வம்புழிழுவ வேறுபிழுவ கண்ணிழுவ கூடு
தம்புலன்களாய் யவனாதரட் பந்திப் பிபாதிழுவ
கரும்பொ னியல்புன்றி சதாசகம் விசேகடங்
குரங்கு பொருதகரினோடு கூர்த்தகிவ றுண்ணாய்.

Śivakaṇḍikāmaṇi l. st. 101—104.

The word *மாடம்* above is obscure.

¹⁰ யவன நியத்திய வினைமாண் பாவை
கையேர் தையகல்

¹¹ மசத வினைஞா மரட்டட் கம்மரு
மயந்தித் கொல்லரும் யவனத் தச்சாரு
தண்டமிழ் வினைஞர் தம்மொடு கூடி.

Maṇimēgalai, xix. Cl. 107—9.

¹² யவன மஞ்சிசை.

Peruṅṅadai, i. 32. l. 76.

¹³ யவனப் பாவை யனி விளக்கு.

Ib. i. 17 l. 175.

ted with the beautiful handiwork of yavanas,⁴⁵ and a yavana chest,⁴⁶ and the cart adorned by the ūryas with the gold lotus made by the yavanas.⁴⁶ The yavanas must have settled in large numbers, because the village (sēri) of the yavanas is referred to.⁴⁷

Ptolemy's Geography and South India :

Ptolemy in his Treatise on geography (c. 150 A. D.) gives a much more detailed account of the Tamil country than the Periplus. He derived his knowledge of South India from persons who had resided in South India. The general impression left on our minds from his account is that South India was divided among the traditional three Kings and a number of tribal chiefs, that the three kings were of more or less equal standing and that the age had not commenced when a Śōḷa King like Karikāl could claim the lordship of the whole of South India. On the contrary, according to Ptolemy, "the cholas were partly nomad." Their name "is hidden in his Sorietae, Soringoi, and Sorae, with a capital apparently at Arcot, and in his king Sornas (the

⁴⁵ யவனக் கைலினை
காணப் புணர்ந்ததோர் மகர வினை
Ib. iii. 16, II. 22—23.

⁴⁶ யவனப் டெனற
Ib. III. 22. I. 213.

⁴⁶ யவனக் கைலினை யாசியப் புணர்ந்தது
தமனியத் தியன்ற தாமரை போல
.....வையம்
Ib. i. 38, II. 233—4, 239.

⁴⁷ ஐம்பதிரிசட்டி யவனச்சேரி
Ib. iii 4, I. 8.

Such a cart is also referred to in iii. 5. II. 48—9.

name is obviously the racial title) whose palace was at Orthora (Uṇḍai, another name of Uṇḍiyār). The Pāṇḍiyas, too, had in Ptolemy's time but "a limited area."⁴⁸ This, by itself, would indicate that the period when one of the three dynasties acquired imperial power over the others had not commenced. Moreover while Ptolemy in dealing with North India speaks more often of Kingdoms like Indo-Scythia, Abiria, Arsa, etc., in the case of South India speaks but of tribes e.g., Aioi, Karooi Pandionoi, Sorstoi, Batoi, Aruvarnoi, Thoringoi. This shows that the power of the kings was not consolidated as in the age of Karikāl or Neduñjeliyan. The very first province of the Tamil country going down from the North, he calls Lemyrice or Dymirike. This name has been wrongly taken to indicate the whole the Tamilagam but both the author of the *Periplus* and Ptolemy use it only as the name of the Śēra territory. The country north of it was to them Ariake, belonging to the Āryas, in the restricted sense of Marāṭhas which the word has in several passages of ancient Tamil literature. The name Dymirike, belonging to the Tamils, was apparently taken, by foreign merchants, to apply to the Tamil province immediately South of Ariake, i.e., the Śēra country. Most of the tribes Ptolemy mentions can be easily identified. The Aioi were the Āyar, Karooi, the Karaiyar; the Pandionoi the Pāṇḍiyar; the Sorstoi, notwithstanding the intruding of the Śōlas; the Batoi, probably the Paraiyar, here of the South-eastern coast; the Aruvarnoi, the Aruvālar, people of Aruvānāḍu, the East coast districts of S. Arcot, Chingleput, North Arcot and probably Nellore;

⁴⁸ Warmington, op. cit. pp. 114-5.

the Thoringoi, which Ptolemy uses as another name of the Soretai, was a corruption of *Sōlas* or *Sōliyas*. Ptolemy mentions four dynasties of Kings as ruling over Dymirike, the Pandionoi, the Soretai, and Aruvarnoi, viz., Kerabothros, (the Keralaputra of Asoka), Pandion, Soronagos and Basarnagos. The elements—nagos of the latter two, it is impossible to understand, unless it is taken to be a mistake for *rāja*; and the last dynastic name Basarnagos is quite unlike any Tamil dynastic name. Probably the Pallavas had begun to rule over the districts of the Aruvarnoi in Ptolemy's time; if so, Basarnagos may be a corruption of Pallavarāja. The capitals of these dynasties are correctly enough given by Ptolemy: they were the inland towns of Karoura (Karūr), Modoura (Madura), Orthoura (Uṛaiyūr or Uṛandai, Uṛagapura in Sanskrit), and Malanga, (Māvilāṅgai, probably near Kāñcīpura, or Kāñcīpura itself). Ptolemy gives also the names of numerous places both on the sea coast and in the interior; a few of these can be identified, e.g., Tyndis (Tondi), Mouziris (Muṣṛī) and Pounata (?Punnata, the place where beryls, *vaḍṛya*, were found), besides Karoura (Karur) in Dymirike (the Sēra country); Kotiara (Kōṭṭār) and Komaria (Comorin) in the country of the Aioi; Kolkhoi (Kēṛkai) in that of the Kareoi, Kory (used both for Dhanuṣkōṭṭi and Ramēśvaram), Beringkarai (Peruṅgarai), besides Madura in the Pāṇḍiya country; Nikama (either Negapatam or Niyamam), Kalligikon (Point Kalimiri) in the country of the Batoi; Khaberis (Kāvirippaṭṭinam), Magour (Mohur), besides Orthoura in that of the Thoringoi or Soretai; Malanga, (Māvilāṅgai, the port of Kāñcīpura, called Mallai, now called Mahābalipura, and perhaps also the town of Kāñcī also), in that of the Aruvarnoi.

Ptolemy names also a number of rivers in the Tamil country. The very first river, the chief one then as now of the Śēra country (called by him Dymirike), is Pseudostomos (i.e., False mouth). This name refers to the fact that Periyāra does not enter the sea direct but loses itself in the backwater near Orangamore. The next one, that at the South of Dymirike, was the Baris. This is certainly the Paruvūr river. The next one, not far from Kolchoi, was Solen. This name seems to be a corruption of Porunai, the Tamil name of the Tāmraparai, the river near Korkai. The next river Ptolemy mentions is the Khaberos, which is the Kāviri. It is to be noted that Ptolemy gives this name a long o, in accordance with the Sanskrit form of the name, i.e., Kāvērī and not the Tamil form, which is Kāviri. Probably Ptolemy got his information from Brāhmanas residents of Alexandria, (for according to Dion Chrysostum there was a colony of Brāhmanas in that place in 100 A. D.⁴⁰) or from traders who had come under the tuition of Brāhmanas. The last river Ptolemy mentions in South India is the Tyre. This must be a corruption of the Penner, the letter T being an easy error in greek for P. Numerous other towns and marts, both on the sea-coast and inland, are mentioned by Ptolemy and a lot of misplaced ingenuity has been spent in trying to identify them with modern places; but all these attempts have proved vain.

Roman trade after the death of Nero:

From the death of Nero the Roman trade in precious stones and superfine muslins began to decline, on account of the disputes about succession and the civil wars that ensued. When Vespasian became

⁴⁰ Or, xxxii, 373, McGrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 177.

Emperor he issued enactments, to suppress the excesses of the nobles. The age of luxury was succeeded by one of self-denial. But the trade with India did not die out altogether. Some writers imagine that because Roman coins of the evening of Rome's glory have not been found in South India, Tamil trade with Rome died out altogether in the III century A. D. This was not so for trade in pepper and ordinary cotton fabrics continued. This is proved by the fact that "when Alaric spared Rome in A. D. 408 he demanded and obtained as part of the ransom three thousand pounds of pepper,"⁵⁰ and "four thousand silk robes."⁵¹ Moreover "Roman coins reappear in South India as well as in the north from Constantine upwards, increasing in the course of the fourth and fifth centuries, and Constantine received an Indian embassy in the last year of his life, while Julian (aggressive in the East like Trajan before him) received embassies from various oriental peoples, including Indian tribes."⁵²

Under the Byzantine emperors from 376 A. D. the upper classes of Byzantium had leisure as well as wealth. Placed nearer to the East, the demand for Indian luxuries developed. As a result, in India have been found coins of these Emperors. In the VII century the Arabs conquered Syria, Egypt and Persia and became again the intermediaries of Indian commerce. Hence the name *yavana* gradually came to be applied to the Arabs and later on to Muhammadans in general.

⁵⁰ J. R. A. S. 1904, p. 68.

⁵¹ Warnington op. cit. p. 140

⁵² *Ib.* p. 139.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE DISTRICT OF KĀNCĪPURA.

The City of Kāncīpura :

Patañjali, who lived about 201 B. C. singled out the name of one town in the Tamil Country, Kāncīpura, and explained the grammatical rule by which was formed from that word the name of a native of that place, viz., Kāncīpuraka.¹ Why should Patañjali who was a Northerner have thought it necessary to explain the formation of Kāncīpuraka, and not Uragapuraka, native of Uṛaiyūr, or Madhurāpuraka, native of Madhurā? Evidently he considered that the latter two words had not established themselves in the Sanskrit language; but men from Kāncīpura were well-known to North Indian scholars. True there was commercial intercourse between North India and the Śōla and Pāṇḍya capitals, but apparently there was no intellectual intercourse such as there was between Kāncīpura and Pāṭalīputra. Kāncīpura was the southernmost outpost of Sanskrit culture in those days. Kāncīpura is a Sanskrit word and the town, though situated in the Tamil country, has no Tamil name. Kāncī for the first time occurs in the *Perumbāṇṇappuppaḍai*, a poem in eulogy of Maṇḍimāyān (V century A. D.)² The word Kāncī resulted from the Tamilization of Kāncī, the shortened form of Kāncīpura, which literally means 'the city of the girdle'. The word Kāñjiyūr occurs in early Tamil

¹. Bhāṣya on Vārttika 16 on Pāṇ. IV, II. 104.

². கச்சிபுராநகரம். Ib. I. 420.

poems,³ but it does not refer to Kāñcīpura at all, for the word Kāñji in Kāñjiyūr is distinctly indicated to be the name of a tree.⁴

The ancient capitals of Tamil Kings were Uraiyūr, Vañji and Madurai and Tamil tradition does not connect Kāñcīpura with the earliest Tamil Kings. It is situated far from the heart of the Tamil country being on its outermost borders. The district of Kāñcīpura had in early times no specific name like the other eleven Tamil districts but was merely called Aruvāṇḍalalai, the region lying north of Aruvā, which was what is now called the district of South Arcot. It was in later times, i.e. long after the Pallava dynasty had established itself finally there and the district became a centre of Tamil culture that it came to be called by the specific name of Tonḍaimaṇḍalam, lit. the district ruled over by

³. காஞ்சிபுரம், 'man of the place surrounded by Kāñji trees,' Agam 96, l. 8. This village was in the Śōḷa country. The Kāñji is mentioned in poems of the of the marudam class, Vide Agam, 336. காஞ்சிபுரன் also occurs in Kuṇḍinogai, 10, where the flower clusters of the Kāñji are said to resemble those of பயறு.

⁴. Kuṇ. 10, referred to in the above footnote says
பயறுபோலினைசைபந்தாறு பயடும
குழயர் வாழ்க்கை சுமந்து சென்றினைத்
காஞ்சிபுரன். II. 2-4

⁵ The man of the village where grows the Kāñji tree from whose flower clusters, like those of the green pulse, the pollen drops and in whose thin boughs, bent by the ploughmen, sweet-smelling flowers abound. The flower is also referred to in Pū. 18, l. 7, and the tree in Pū. 251, l. 11 and Pū. 36, l. 10.

the kings, or belonging to the people, named after the creeper *tenḍā*. Then the district of South Arcot became the *aḍṇāḍi*, the central district. We thus see that in ancient days the district of Kāñcīpura was conceived by the Tamils as practically outside the genuine Tamil country, the region north of the Tamils district of Aruvā.

The Andhras:

Beyond this region lay the great plateau where reigned the Āndhras, the Cis-Vindhyan Dasyus who were the earliest to absorb the Aryan culture, when it passed the Vindhyas and overspread the *śākāyāṇātha*. The Āndhras were Aryanized early in the first millennium before Christ, for from among them rose two of the latest Rṣis, Bandhūyana and Āśastamba. The Āndhras must have established an extensive Aryanized empire south of the Vindhyas in very early times. Otherwise it is difficult to explain the rise of Aryan law-givers among them; for lawgivers are not likely to have risen without royal patronage. Asoka hints at a vague sort of supremacy over the Āndhras; this merely means that the Āndhra Kings of the IV and III centuries B.C., acknowledged that the emperors of Magadha from Mahāpadma Nanda onwards were superior to them in might and entitled to receive presents as a mark of respect and does not mean that the Āndhra region was a part of the Magadha empire. Moreover V. A. Smith has pointed out that Pliny, probably quoting from Megasthenes, tells us that the Āndhra territory included thirty walled towns, besides numerous villages, and the army consisted of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants. If this information really comes from Megasthenes, it

shows that in Maurya times, the Āndhra Kings possessed a vast and powerful dominion. V. A. Smith is also of opinion that in the days of Aśoka, the Āndhras probably enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy under their own Rajas.²

The Puranas begin their list of Āndhra Kings with Śimuka and modern scholars think that he reigned in the end of the III century B. C. Does this mean that there were no Āndhra kings before Śimuka? No, for the Āndhra country described by Megasthenes was governed by kings of its own. The dynasties of the Kali Age enumerated in the Puranas refer only to the Kings whose influence was felt in Āryāvartta; and after the Āndhra influence began to be felt there, the Puranas commenced to note the names of the Kings of the Āndhra dynasty starting with Śimuka of the III century B. C. The Āndhra Kingdom must have begun to exist long before Śimuka, i.e. ever since it was Aryanized and Ārya laws and institutions spread in it early in the first millennium B.C.

Aryan influence in Kāñcīpurā:

Almost since that time Aryan influence ought to have penetrated to the district of Kāñcīpurā, for it lay in the outermost fringe of the Āndhra dominion in the region that was just outside the genuine Tamil provinces.

That Kāñcīpurā was a centre of Aryan culture from very early times is confirmed by the tradition that Cāṇakya, the great minister of Candragupta Maurya was a native of Drāviḍa, that is Kāñcī.³ Cāṇakya

² V. A. Smith. *Early History of India*, pp. 217-8 and footnote.

³ Turnour. *Mahāwanso*, p. 21. *J. A. S. B.* v, 2 (Foulkes. *J. R. A. S.* 1885, p. 209.)

had several names viz., Vātsyāvana, Mallanāga, Kuṭila, Dramiḷi, Puṣṭilasvāmī, Viṣṇugupta, and Āṅgula.⁷ There is no reason to discredit this tradition which will lead to the conclusion that the great minister not only helped to seat Candragupta on the imperial throne but also wrote on the Artha Śāstra and the whole circle of sciences, Kāma Śāstra, Dharma Śāstra, and Mokṣa Śāstra. There is nothing absurd in concluding that the works that go by the above several names were all composed by one man, for did not Madhavācārya who founded and organised the great Vijayanagara Empire and whose ministerial activities were very much more variegated than those of Cāṇakya yet found time to write extensive treatises not only on the four Puruṣārthas, but on other subjects too. Stray references such as to the Śūtakarnis in the Kāma Śāstra, indicating a later date for this work are no valid objections to Cāṇakya's authorship of these works, because in India, especially in early times, books were never published as in modern days, but remained the property of the disciples of the master for several generations and it was not considered wrong on the part of the teachers of a later generation to insert illustrations from current events into the *Mss.* of ancient texts. Hence the antiquity of ancient Sanskrit works ought not to be decided on the strength of stray allusions which were added in later times. But whatever be the merits of the theory that Cāṇakya wrote on Artha, Nyāya and Kāma and that he was also the Dramiḷācārya referred to by Rāmānuja in his Śībhāṣya, it cannot be denied that he was one of the

⁷ Hemacandra, quoted by Law, *Anc. Hindu Polity* pp. x, xi; vide also K.V. Rangaswami Iyengar's *Anc. Ind. Polity*, p. 87-88.

most learned men of his age and the first of the series of great South Indian scholars e.g., Nā.ārjuna, Dinnāga, Buddhadatta, Dharmapāla, Ś.ñ kara, hñnānaja, Ānanda, tīrtha, Mā lhaṇa, śāyana, and others who were leaders of Indian thought and the torch-bearers of culture throughout the whole of India from pre-Christian times. This fact, more than others, emphasizes the cultural unity of India and the continuity of its culture, though the land was always broken up into "fifty six" states, so far as the administration of public affairs was concerned.

One of the names of Kāñcīpura is Satyavrata kṣētra and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa says that Satyavrata, (King of Draviḍa i.e., Kāñcī) became Vivasvān's son, Manu.^a This means that Satyavrata was the earliest Aryan or Aryanized King of Kāñcī, and was affiliated to the Solar dynasty by Brāhmanāḥ who constantly in the course of Indian History, invented genealogies tracing the ancestry of Aryanized kings to one of Purāṇ's gods or heroes. It may be remarked in passing that probably the kings who ruled over Kāñcī before the Pallava period were spoken of as Satyaputras, descendants of Satyavrata. Asoka's Satyaputto were probably rulers of Kāñcī in his days.^b

Whether the descendants of the Satyavratas were vassals of the Āndhras or no, there is no means of ascertaining, but it is certain that after the Āndhra country was Aryanized, Kāñcīpura became the southernmost outpost of Aryan culture and was not a seat of Tamil culture in early times.

^a Bhāg IX i. 2-3 (Pargiter)

^b As suggested by S. V. Venkatesvara in the *Indian Quarterly* for 1919.

It has also to be noted that though the Northerners changed the word *Tamiḷ* into *Dravḍa*, in actual use they restricted the name *Draviḍas* to the people of the Kāñcīpura district to the exclusion of the Śōḷās, the Śēras and the Pāṇḍiyas. The *Dravḍas* are referred to as different from these others: for the *Draviḍas* that attended the Rājāsūya of Yudhiṣṭhira and took part in the great war are mentioned as distinct from the Cōḷās, Cēras and the Pāṇḍiyas.¹⁰ This name *Draviḍas*, to designate specifically the Aryanized Tamils of the district of Kāñcīpura prevailed even in the VII century A.D. for Ywan Chwang calls the province *Ta-lo-pi-la*, which is *Drāviḍa* altered so as to suit the phonetic framework of the Chinese language.

The Āgama cults in Kāñcī:

The Āgamas and the Āgamika forms of worship were fairly widespread in India in the centuries that immediately preceded the Christian era. Seven great centres of Āgamika worship—it would tend to clearness if they are called seven temple-cities, seven places which were regarded as foci of spiritual influence whence radiated rays of Bhakti to Śiva or Viṣṇu—became prominent in early days and Kāñcī was one of them¹¹. This confirms the theory of the early affiliation of

¹⁰ M. Bh. ii. 34, 1271, iii. 51, 1988, v. 22, 659, viii. 11, 454.

¹¹ Ayodhyā Mathurā Mā, ā Kāñcī Kāñcī Avantikā | Pūrī Dvāravatī caiva sapta ā Mokṣadāyikā | Bṛūta Śuddhi Tantra, quoted in Śabdakalpavṛṇam. This Tantra may be a recent book, but the Sloka looks like one which has floated down the stream of time from antiquity.

Kāñcīpura to Northern culture. By this time the genuine Vaidika cult was all but dead and hence neither Kāñcīpura nor any of the other six cities were specially associated with the Vaidika yajña in those days but were centres of the worship of Śiva or Viṣṇu or Kālī. This is further proof that Kāñcī was from the beginning a centre of Aryan culture.

During the time when the Āndhra power was in the ascendant numerous Bauddha monasteries were built; and when on account of the pressure of the Śaka-Pallavas, Āndhra power gravitated to the East Coast and Dhanakada became the chief Āndhra Capital, there was built the great and beautiful monastery of Amarāvati, in which traces of Yavana (Indo-Hellenic) art have been recognized. We may well believe that the Bauddha cult (and along with it the Jaina cult, besides the Śaiva and the Vaiṣṇava cults) became established in Kāñcīpura. This will explain the fact that Buddha images with faint reminiscences of Yavana art, and also stone relics of the Jaina cult, have been found in that city.

The Pallavas:

The Śaka-Pallavas gradually succeeded to the dominions of the Āndhras in the I, II, and III centuries A.D. Samuśāstra, Mālva, Dhanakataka and Kāñcīpura districts, one by one, fell under the sway of one or other of the Śaka-Pallava dynasties. These Śaka-Pallavas were originally adventurers, who from the time of Daryavush Vištaspā (Darius Hystaspes) poured into India by sea and by land and acquired sovereign power in different districts of the country. Religion seems to have sat loosely on these tribes,

for we find them accepting the Śaiva, the Vaiṣṇava, the Buddha and Jaina cults; and as the religious organization of India was not one-tenth so hidebound as it is to-day, they found a place in the Indian social polity. They accepted some dialect or other of Prakrit as their court-language and Sanskrit as their culture-language. They gradually gave up their outlandish proper names and assumed Sanskrit or Prakrit ones instead. The branch of them that gave the final blow to Āndhra power and became masters of Dhanakṣṭṛka were acknowledged to be Kṣatriyas of the Bhāradvāja gōtra, and called themselves Pallavas¹².

The early Pallava dynasty of Kāñcī.

Probably the first Pallava that established himself in Kāñcī was Bappa. He is said to have made donations to Brahmanas of the Ātreya, Hārīta, Bhāradvāja, Kauśika, Kāśyapa and Vatsa Gotras, of a hundred thousand ox ploughs, and many millions of gold coins. One of his successors Śiva Khanda Vamma, who mentions the benefactions of his ancestor, Bappa performed the Agniṣṭōma, Vājapeya, and Āsvamedha sacrifices. These facts show that there was no dearth of Brāhmanas

¹² In ignorance of the fact that Pahlava was the Sanskrit form, rarely used, of Pallava, the Prākṛit form used from Gāndhāra down to Kāñcīpura, a futile attempt has been recently made to separate the Pallavas of Kāñcī from the Pallavas of all other Indian provinces and to claim for them a Tamil origin. Pahlava and Pallava are the same word, the Indianized forms of Parthava, the tribal name which has become Parthian in the European languages.

(Southern Āryas) in the city of Kāñcīpura in early days; hence the city must have been Aryanized long before the Pallava rule began. Śiva Khanda Vamma's plates show that the administration of his province was conducted in the Aryan way, as described in the Artha Śāstra and developed by the law-givers that succeeded Cānakya. The sub-divisions of the dominions, the officers that carried on the administration, the taxes, and the exemptions from dues in the case of gift-lands, are all referred to by means of Sanskrit terminology. The grant was composed by a member of the Privy Council in his own handwriting, then it was engraved on copper plate and finally seen by the king who issued it as his own order accompanying it with libations of water. In the times of these early Pallavas, Brāhmanas were settled in Agrahārams in the Kāñcīpura district and were employed in secular offices as the grants prove. All these purely Aryan customs were not known in the heart of the Tamil country till it was Aryanized in the VI century A. D.

Śiva Khanda Vamma's grants, like the Nāīk inscriptions of the Āndhra Kings, are in Prakrit, differing from the literary Pālī in several respects. There are indications that this language must have been in use in Kāñcī for a pretty long time and been to some extent affected by Tamil, which was the vernacular of the masses in that district; for as Buhler, when he edited the Hīrahadag[gi] grant has remarked, "an utter loss of a feeling for the differences of gender" is noticeable in the person who composed it, for the neuter *puṇvadattam*, 'formerly given', has to be construed along with the masculine *sampadatto*, 'has been given'. This want of a feeling for gender shows that the Prakrit

of the author had been spoken long enough in the Tamil country for the lack of grammatical gender characteristic of the Tamil language to influence the Prakrit idiom prevalent in the Kāñcīpura district. Other influences of Tamil on the language of Śīva Khanda Vamma's grants there are, but they need not be discussed here.

The first Sanskrit inscription published in India is that of Rudradāman of Mālva, of the middle of the II century A. D. From this period onwards, Prakrit inscriptions were rapidly replaced by Sanskrit ones. This fact indicates that Śīva Khanda Vamma probably reigned before the beginning of the III century A. D., if not a little earlier. Foulkes has pointed out that these early Pallava grants are dated in the manner prevalent among the Āndhra inscriptions discovered in the Dekkan belonging to the II century A. D. by referring to the tithis of the Solar fortnights of one of the three seasons of the year; this leads to the idea that the Pallava power prevailed in the Kāñcīpura district in the II century A. D. or earlier. This tentative hypothesis is confirmed by a statement in the Mahāvamsa¹³ that D. ṭṭigāmaṇi in 157 B. C. (according to the traditioned date and 95 B. C. according to the date for Buddha's nirvāṇa fixed by some European scholars), erected a stupa at Anurādhāpura, and, on the occasion of its consecration, the wise Mahādeva came from the monastery of Pallavabhogga with four hundred and sixty thousand Bhikkhus. Foulkes identifies Pallavabhogga with the Kāñcīpura district, and thence concludes that the Pallava kingdom had risen in the II century B. C.¹⁴

¹³ Ch. xxix.

¹⁴ J. R. A. S. 1885 art. ix. and 1883 art. xiii.

Besides Bauddha institutions, there must have been Brāhmaṇa ones in the city of Kāñcī. It has already been pointed out that eminent Brāhmaṇa scholars of this city were known to Northerners. About the end of the fourth century A.D. there existed at Kāñcī a college for the teaching of Vedic and other Sanskrit lore, where studied Mayūra śarmā, who afterwards founded the Kadamba dynasty of Banavase. Says the Talagundi inscription of his great-grandson, Kākustavarmā, Mayūrasarmā with his preceptor, Viraśarmā, went to the city of the Pallava lords and, eager to study the whole sacred lore, quickly entered the ghaṭika (college) as a mendicant.¹⁵ I imagine that the ghaṭika was not a new one started when the power of the first Pallava dynasty of Kāñcī was decaying but was an institution which existed ever since Kāñcī became a centre of Aryan learning and sent learned scholars to North India to take part in the progress of Sanskrit scholarship there.¹⁶

Neither the city of Kāñcī nor the early Pallava rulers of that place are at all referred to in the early Tamil poems that are now extant. This was because the city, though technically within the borders of

¹⁵ Yuh prayāsa pallavendrapurim guruṇā samam
Virāśarmāṇā |

adi iṅghāmauḥ pravāśnam nikhilam ghaṭikām
vivesāu tarakkukaḥ | Ep. Ind. VIII. p. 32 V. 10.

¹⁶ I have given a full account of the history of the early Pallava dynasty of Kāñcī so far as information is available, in my Tamil book on the Pallavas, Vol. I. A similar account is unnecessary here, for the early Pallavas were not Tamils, as the latter Pallavas became.

the Tamil country, was in early times a home of Sanskrit and not Tamil culture and was ruled over not by Tamil kings but by Ārya (Aryanized) hājas. About the end of the IV century A. D. as we shall see in the next chapter, it passed temporarily into Tamil hands, and this had a double effect, in that it led to the rapid subjugation of the Tamil genius by Aryan culture and to the spread of Tamil literary culture in the Kāncīpura district.



CHAPTER XX.

KARIKĀL.

The battle of Veṇṇi :

Karikāl is the first great Tamil King who is mentioned by name in early Tamil poetry ; he is eulogized in three odes and two long poems, all composed by contemporary poets and therefore of great use in reconstructing his life. One of the odes is by a poetess called 'the Potter woman of Veṇṇi' : Veṇṇi otherwise Veṇṇil, is probably the village now called hōyil-Veṇṇi, a small station of the South Indian Railway in the Tanjore district. In ancient days poetry was a matter of genius and not of scholarship, and the result of the inspiration of the muse and not of the artificial contrivances of pandits. Men and women of all ranks and classes composed poetry, as is evidenced by the ancient anthologies. 'The Potter-woman of Veṇṇi'—*Veṇṇikkuyattiyār*—sings of Karikāl's defeat of an enemy in the bat lefield (*iṇṇidalai*, sandy stretch) of Veṇṇi and of the suicide of his defeated and disgraced foe. The ode runs thus :—" Karikāl, Śōja king who are descended from the powerful monarch who ruled the wind and drove the ship on the waste of waters, the sea, and who own very strong elephants, you marched against the enemy and exhibited your might by defeating him. The foe committed suicide on the battlefield of Veṇṇi, the revenues of which are always increasing, for he was ashamed of the wound on the back and desired to obtain

fame in the world; but he is not superior to you". This battle is also referred to in the splendid poem, *Porunarāruppaṭi*—'The Way to Wealth shown to Bards'—which is a description of Karikāl's patronage of poets by one of his proteges, by name Muḍattāmak-kāṇṇiyār (the lame Wearer of Garlands of flowers), one of Karikāl's contemporaries. There the king is described as "Karikāl, the Sōla king, with terrible might and the beautiful garland of the flowers of the ōtti (*Bauhinia racemosa*), fought in the battle-field two great kings who wore on their heads, respectively the tender leaf of the black palmyra and the garland of the black margosa leaves whose edges look like that of the saw."² The suicide of a king who was wounded in the back by cutting his throat on the battle field is technically called in old Tamil poetry, 'Being in the north with the sword'; the phrase 'being in the north'

கனியிரு முத்தீர் காவாயோட்டி
கனிகொழி வானை வாயோன் மருக
கனியியல் வானைக் கரிசால் வளவ
சென்றவர் கடத்தலிற் றன்ற னேன்ற
வென்றோப் பின்னிணை வல்லனன்றே
கனிகொள் யானை வெண்ணிப் பறத்தலை
மிசப்புக் குலக் கெய்திப்
புறப்புண் ணணி யடக்கிருத் தோனே.

Por. 61.

இரும்பனம் போத்தைத் தோடுங் கருஞ்சின
யாவாய் கெம்பி னை + நைத் தெரிபுல
மோங்கருஞ் சன்னிதே ம்பட மிலைத்
விருடு று வேந்தரு மொருகைத் தவிய
வெண்ணித்தாகவிய வெருகரு கோஞ்ஞர்.

Por. II. 143-2.

means the giving up of one's life by either turning to the north and killing oneself or going to a Northern place and dying there by starvation. The enemies of Karikāl were one a Pāṇḍiya king and the other a Śēra king. The latter's suicide at the battle of Venni is also referred to in Agam 55,³ an ode written probably many years after the occurrence for it is spoken of as a past event. In this ode he is called Śēral Ādan. It is also said that Puṇam 65 celebrates the same event, though there is nothing in the poem itself which refers it to this act of the Śēra king.⁴ Probably the editor of Puṇam, finding that Agam 55 referred to Ādan's suicide thought that Puṇam 65 ought also to refer to the same event and has said so in the colophon he added to the ode. In this colophon he is called Peruñjēral Ādan, whereas the Agam calls him Śēral Ādan. Nothing is known about this Śēra, his name occurring only in this colophon and not in any poem.

³ கரிகால் வளவனோடு வெண்ணிப் பறத்தலை
பொருது புண்ணுணிய நேரலாத
எழிலை மருங்கின வான்வடக் கிருந்தன.

Agam. 55, ll. 10-12.

⁴ That Śēral Ādan fought with Karikāl, the Śōja in the field of Venni, and, ashamed of the wounds (he received), slew himself near the place in which he was defeated.

⁵ தன்போல் வெந்தன் முன்புருறித் தெறிந்த
புறப்புண னுணி மறத்தலை மன்ன
வான்வடக் கிருந்தனை.

Puṇ. 65, 9-10.

⁶ The valiant king got a wound on his back from one whom he regarded as a king equal to him in status and (so) slew himself.

Early Life of Karikāl:

Porunarappadaḥ appears to have been written in the earlier part of Karikāl's reign before he changed his capital from Uṇaiyūr to Kāvīrippūmbaṭṭinam (Kāvīripaṭṭinam) at the mouth of the Kāvīri. It refers to his being the posthumous child of Ḥaiyōn meaning the younger. "The child of Ḥaiyōn of the victorious spear and many beautiful chariots, he became a lord who inspired awe (in the minds of his foes) as Murugan's anger does; he inherited his right to the throne while still in his mother's womb. His enemies came to obey his behests. The countries of the kings who did not submit to him were filled with anxiety. As the young sun whose warmth is desired by all spreads his rays on the sea, before gradually rising high in the sky, so when he crawled (as a baby) on the floor, he carried on his shoulders (the burden of) his excellent land and daily increased its prosperity. As the whelp of the lion proud of its great strength, greater than that of the Lord of Death, harasses the deer while still at the breast of its dam, and soon kills the elephant when it hunts for the latter's head,"⁸ so Karikāl defeated the Pāṇḍiya and the

6

வெவ்வே

தருவப் படுதே ஸிணையோன் சிறுவன்

முருகத் தீர்த்தத் தருகெழு குருசி

ஞய்வயிற் றிருந்து தாய் மெய்தி

மெய்வாத் தெவ்வ ரோவல் கேட்பச்

செய்வார் தேஎன் தெருமரல் கவிப்பப்

பெளவ ஸிமிசைப் பகற்குநிர் பரப்பி

வெவ்வெஞ் செவ்வன் விசம்புபடர்க் தாங்குப்

Śīra kings. Here follows the passage already quoted about the battle of Venni. In a later passage⁶ is alluded to an incident of his boyhood. Two elderly people entered his council-chamber and laid before him a dispute that had arisen between them, and he settled it to the satisfaction of both.⁶ It is said in a fugitive stanza⁷ that on this occasion he wore a grey wig to conceal his extreme youth. In another passage of Poruṇarāgappadaḥ it is said that he ruled the

பித்தத்தவழ் சுற்றதற் றெட்டிச் சிறத்தான்
 னுடு செவிற் கொண்டு நாடொதும் வளர்ப்ப
 வானி நன்மா னணங்குடைக் குருளை
 மீளி மொய்ம்பின் மிகுவலி செருங்கி
 முலைக்கோள் விடாவு மரத்தினை நெருசொனத்
 தலைக்கோள் வேட்டம் களிதட் டாதுங்கு.

Por. II, 129-142.

முதியோ

⁶ தலைபுகு பொழுதிற்றம் படைமுரண் செவையும்.

Ib. II, 187-188.

⁷ உரைமுடியு கரணு னினைமையோ னென்ற
 கரைமுது மக்களுவப்ப—கரைமுடித்துச்
 செல்லான் முறைசெய்தான் சேரமுன் குலவிச்சை
 கல்லரமற் பாகம் பகிம்.

Paḷamoḷi, 25.

⁸ The grey-haired old men said that the young man could not come to a decision about their case. They were delighted to find that the Śīra wore a grey wig, and understood the case from listening to their statements. This proves that even before they learn the arts suited to their caste, men are ripe (for their duties).⁸

Paḷamoḷi 25.

whole world under one umbrella.* This may mean that he established his rule over the whole of the Tamil world after defeating his rival monarchs, the Pāṇḍiya and the Śērā at Veṇṇi. But as he is in the last line of the same poem, specifically called "the Lord of the land which the Kāviri nourishes,"† we may take it that Karikāl did not annex the Pāṇḍiya and the Śērā countries, but merely claimed homage from their kings.

Early patronage of poets :

During the years when he ruled the Kāviri valley from Uṇaiyūr, he was as great a patron of poets as Bhoja was in later times. This is Muḍattāmakkaṇṇiyār's account of his reception at Karikāl's court. "Like a bird that flies to a tree bearing fruit, I went to the broad palace wall which resounded with a loud noise and entered the beautiful gateway which was never closed to the needy, without informing the porter. My emaciated body was relieved of its weariness. Playing on my small drum whose sides displayed, where my fingers touched them, marks like those on the expanded hood of a cobra, I sang keeping measure with the double beat of the drum, so that my poverty might be relieved. It was the dawn and Venus with her expansive rays was risen. The king desired to treat me like one of his relatives and spoke in such a complimentary way that I desired to be frequently a solicitor for his

* ஒரு குடையா ளென்று கூறப்
பெரிதான்.

Por. II. 228-229.

காவிரி புரங்கு காடுகிழ வோனே.

Ib. I. 248.

help. He gave me a seat near him, that I might be always in his eye. He looked at me so kindly that my bones became soft like wax. He made me discard my clothes which teemed with lice, were torn and restitched in a number of places and gave me, instead, clothes so embroidered with flowers as to look like the skin of a serpent and so fine that the threads of which they were woven could not be traced with the eyes. His servant-maids, who were fair, bejewelled and smiling, frequently poured intoxicating wine into gold cups as unstintingly as the rain pours water. I had my fill of it so that my weariness was relieved. When evening came I was full of joy and then took rest in his beautiful palace. As ascetics keep up their bodies for a long time to enjoy (in their physical bodies) the benefits of their asceticism, so I was relieved of the weariness of the travel and the only agitation I had was the tremor of my limbs due to much drinking. People who had noticed my look of poverty the previous evening, were astonished to see me the next morning so charged with scents as to attract bees. I thought it was all a dream but was exhilarated to find that it was a reality. Other poor people were delighted to find me so. Boys swore that though altered I was the same man as the beggar of the previous day."¹⁰ Besides giving to

¹⁰ பழமர முன்னிய பறவையின் யானுமவ
 னிழுமென் சுற்றை விடனுடை வரைப்பி
 னைசுயுநத் தடையா நன்பெரு வரவி
 விசையென் புக்கென் னிடும்கை நிர
 வெய்த்த மெய்யே செய்யே னுடுப்
 பைத்த பரம்பின் றுத்தி யெய்ப்பப்
 கைக்கச டிருத்தவென் கண்ணகன் நடாரி

posts food and drink in plenty the king gave them silk

யிருசீர்ப் பாணிக் கேற்ப விரிகதிர்
 வெள்ளி முனைத்த நன்னிருள் விடிய
 வென்றியான் பெட்டா வளவையி னென்றிய
 கேளிர் போல கேள்கொளல் வேண்ட
 வேளான் வாயில் வேட்பக் கூறிக்
 கண்ணிற் காண நண்ணுவழி விசீஇப்
 பருகு வன்ன வருகா கேளக்கமோ
 நிருகு பவையோ வென்பு குயிர்கொளிஇ
 மீரும் பேணு மிருத்திறை கூடி
 வேரொடு நனைந்து வேற்றிறை நழைந்த
 தன்னற் சிதா ஆர் துவா நீக்கி
 நோக்கு நழைக்கல்லா நன்னமைய பூக்களிக்
 தரவுரி யன்ன வறுவை நீக்கி
 மழையென மருளு மகிழ் செய்காடத்
 திழையுணி வணப்பி னின்னகை மகலிர்
 போக்கிற் பொலங்கல நிறையப் பங்கால்
 வாக்குபு தாத் தா வருத்தம் விட
 வார வுண்டு போளூர் போக்கிக்
 சொருக்கொடு நின்ற காலை மற்றவன்
 திருக்கிளர் கோயி லொருகிறைத் தங்கித்
 தவஞ்செய் மரக்க டம்முடம் பீடாஅ
 ததன்பய மெய்திய வளவை மான
 வாறுசெல் வருத்த மகல நீக்கி
 யணந்தர் நடுக்க மல்ல தியாவது
 மணல் கவல் பின்றி மாழாந் தெழுந்து
 மாலை யன்னதோர் புண்மையுங் காலைக்
 கண்டோர் மருளும் வண்டிருந் நிலையுங்
 கனவென மருண்டவென் னெஞ்சே மாப்ப
 வல்லோர் பொத்திய மனமகிழ் சிறப்பக்

clothes with the loose ends of threads knotted,¹¹ flowers made of gold in the shape of the lotus,¹² and tall chariots with crowns made of ivory and drawn by four white horses with waving manes.¹³

Later life :

The other long poem sung in praise of Karikāl is *Paṭṭinappālai*, 'the parting-song in which Kāvīrippūm-paṭṭinam is described' by *Uruttirāṅgaṇṇār* of *Kaḍiyālūr*. Therein the author informs his mind which desires to go to Kāvīrippūm-paṭṭinam for earning presents from Karikāl that he would not part from his beloved and accompany his mind to that city. From this poem we learn that Karikāl in the course of his reign changed his capital from *Uṇaiyūr* to this flourishing seaport. He gave up *Uṇandai* (i.e., *Uṇaiyūr*) whose mansions possessed high doors, after establishing in their palaces (its old) families, and building great and small gateways in its forewalls where the goddess of fortune resided and providing its bastions with bundles of arrows.¹⁴

கல்லா விளைஞர் சொல்லிக் காட்ட.

Por. 64-100.

¹¹

தய

கொட்டைக் கரைப் பட்டுடை கல்வி.

Ib. II.

¹² ஏழிழுமரை.

Ib. I, 159.

¹³ கோட்டிற் செய்த கொடிஞ்சி கொடுத்த
குட்டுளை தயல்வா வேளி துடங்கப்
பாற்புரை புரவி கால்குடன் பூட்டி.

Ib. 163-165.

¹⁴ பிறங்கு நிலை மாடத்துறந்தை போக்கிக்
கோய்வொடு குடிசீரீஇ
வாய்வொடு புறையமைத்து
கூய்வொறு புதை கிறீஇப்.

Paṭ. II. 285-8.

This poem describes the martial exploits of Karikāl from his youth onwards. Being a posthumous son, he did not succeed to the Śōlā throne without trouble. When young he was imprisoned possibly by usurpers and fought his way to freedom. As the poet says, "As the tiger-cub, whose claws are sharp and which bears (on its skin) curved stripes, grows in strength while confined in its cage, his might ripened when he was kept in the well-guarded house of his enemies; he decided to escape and, as the large-trunked elephant (caught in a pit) breaks the pit-wall, fills the pit with the earth and runs away to its mate, he with his sword cut his way through the thick ranks of the guard around his prison-house. He thus obtained the right to the powerful (Śōlā) throne."¹⁵ Not satisfied with the royal rights he thus obtained "he proceeded against other countries. His elephants with (prominent) nails on their legs kicked the crowned black heads of his enemies and destroyed their fortifications and broke with tusks their gates."¹⁶ "He quelled with his fierce

15

கருவிரிக் குருளை கடட்டின் வளர்ந்தாங்குப்
பிறர், பிணியகத் திருந்து பீகொழ் முத்தி
யருந்தரை கலியக் குத்திக் குழிகொண்ட
பெருங்கையாளை பிடிபுக் காங்கு
தூண்ணிதி ணுணர் நாடி கண்ணார்
செறிவுடைத் திண்காப் பேறி வாக் கழித்
தருகெழு தாய முழி னெய்தி.

Ib. II. 220-27.

16 பெற்றவை மலித்தல் செய்யான் செத்தோர்
கடியான் டொலைத்த கதவுகொன் மருப்பின்
முடியுடைக் கருந்தலைக் புரட்டு முன்ற
ளுகிருடை யடிய வேரக்கெழில் யாளை.

Ib. II. 228-31.

red looks the might of the Pāṇḍiya who used to boast of his fearlessness in facing his enemies and who was strong enough to destroy the forts of kings with his great army."¹⁷ He decided to enlarge his dominions in all directions. "He destroyed the power of the many Oḷiya chiefs; the ancient lords of the Aruvā country became subservient to him; the kings of the North lost their splendour; those of Kuḍanāḍu were depressed by him; all the branches of the low herdsman dynasty were rooted out as also the family of Iruṅgōvēl."¹⁸ Of this list, the Iruṅgōvēl chief ruled in the district south of the Śōḷa kingdom with Koḍumbāḷūr (an ancient town now in the Pudukotta state, on the road from Trichinopoly to Madura) as his capital. The Aruvā and Oḷiya chiefs ruled over the districts between the Śōḷa and the Pallava dominions. Having conquered these, Karikāl subjugated the Northern King (Vaḍavar) i.e. the Pallava

- ¹⁷ தென்னவன் நிறல் கெடச் சிறிமன்னர்
மன்னெயில் கதுவு மதனுடை கோன்றான்
மாத்தாளை மறமொய்ய்பிற்
செங்கண்ணற் செயிர்த்து கோக்கி

Ib. II. 277-280,

- ¹⁸ பல்வெளியர் பணிபொடுங்கத்
தொல்வருவானர் தொழில் கேட்ப
வடவர் வாடச் சூடவர் கடம்பத்
தென்னவன் நிறல் கெடச் சிறி மன்னர்
மன்னெயில் கதுவு மதனுடை கோன்றான்
மாத்தாளை மறமொய்ய்பிற்
செங்கண்ணற் செயிர்த்து கோக்கிப்
புன்பொதுவர் வழிபொன்ற
விருங்கோவேண் மருங்கு சாயச்.

Ib. II. 274-282

Rajas of Kāñci. He pushed beyond and brought under his sway the Poduva chieftains, who ruled over the Oudappa and Kurnool districts. The word Poduvar means herdsman chiefs and must refer to the rulers of the pastoral tribes that inhabited the Mūllai region north of the Marudam lands belonging to the Pallavas. The herdsman brought under Kariāl's sway were Kuṛumbas, like those who inhabit these districts even to-day, and weave the famous kambajis of that region. "The famous victor, the Śōla, Kariāl, protected the families of the Kuṛumbar who tend (flocks) on the hill-tops."¹⁹ There is also plenty of epigraphical evidence to support the fact deduced from this poem that Kariāl's sway extended north up to the Oded Districts, which will be discussed presently.

The poem also says that Kariāl destroyed forests and turned them into habitable places.²⁰ The commentator explains that this was done in the Śōla country; but that country was fully inhabited from a long time before this monarch, and therefore this exploit must refer to the thinly populated districts Oudappa and Kurnool.²¹ "The local records reveal

¹⁹ குறும்பரை பயந்துஞ்
செஞ்சூடி திறத்த பெரும் பெயர்ச் சரிகால்
வெல்பெயர்ச் சோழன்.

Agam. 141 ll. 21-23.

²⁰ காடு கொன்று நாடாக்கி.

Por. I. 283.

²¹ There was absolutely no desert land in the Śōla country, so much so that it was described as கால் காடு (the four regions) and not the five regions.

Por. I. 226.

the fact that people of Cudappa and Kurnool districts (the ancient Rēnāḍu) still remember the invasion of Karikāl. According to one Kaifyat, Karikāla Mahārāja of Śūryavamśa, having conquered the west, obtained possession of this country. He had the forest cleared on the southern slopes of Karigiri hill where he founded a village called Pottāpi. He encouraged the growth of a number of villages in its neighbourhood; and as Pottāpi was the most important of them, the group of villages around it acquired the name of Pottāpināḍu.²² That the tradition embodied in the above extract is the correct explanation of the poet's remark that Karikāl destroyed forests and turned them into habitable places there can be no doubt. We may hence conclude that Karikāl's sway extended over the whole of the Tamil land and a part of the Telugu Country beyond and that under his rule the land was prosperous because he developed the agricultural activities of the people and encouraged trade.

The new capital :

He seems to have changed his capital from Uṟaiyūr to the ancient seaport of Kāviriṭṭāmbaṭṭinam, first because he could control his possessions by means of his naval power and secondly because he could better encourage foreign trade from that place and thus increase his revenue. The Paṭṭinappalāi tells us that he built round the city "strong walls in which the goddess of victory resided and furnished it with a door (made of beams)

²² N. Venkataramanaiya quoting from L. R. vol. 22, p. 141, in the Madras Christian College Magazine for Jan. 1929.

joined together, on which his tiger-crest was carved."²³ This poem elaborately describes the city and its suburbs. Being the earliest description of a Tamil city, and, unlike the accounts in the Sanskrit literature, entirely realistic and without exaggeration, except in one phrase, it deserves to be reproduced here. "It was the day of the full moon. The big red-haired fishermen did not go on the broad black cool sea to fish. In the middle of the hamlet with low roofs against which were leant long angling-rods, in their huts in the front of which was spread sand with their nets drying thereon, looking like alternating patches of moonlight and darkness, they, along with their black women who wore the leaf-garment planted the horn of the gravid shark. In honour of the powerful god dwelling in the horn, they hung (round their necks) garlands of the cool flowers of the white convolvulus growing low at the foot of the screw-pine which has aerial roots, they wore on their hair the long-petalled flower of the Pandanus, they drank the toddy from the rough-barked palmyra and also rice-liquor and played on the sandy stretch of the beach. At the noisy mouth of the river where the Kāviri mixes its (muddy) waters with the clear water of the sea looking like the red evening cloud on a black hill, and the (red-haired) child at the breast of (its black) mother, they bathed to get rid of their sins; and, to get rid of the salt (of the sea-water), they bathed in the flood. They played with crabs and on the broad

²³ புலிப்பெரிப் பேரக்கதவித்
நிருத்தஞ்சுந் திண்காப்பு.

wave; they made images [of grass], enjoyed many things which appealed to their senses, and played all day without being satiated. They then fell asleep on the sweet-smelling sands of the great Kāviri.

" Those who lived on the banks of the river which never fails, where flowers are strewn in mansions standing on pillars as high as the heaven which is difficult to reach and which has endured for long, listened to songs, witnessed with pleasure dramas; ²⁴ women enjoyed the moonlight, drank strong liquor instead of toddy, changed silk clothes for muslins, and embraced their husbands and went to sleep in the last watch of the night. At such a time, (on account of intoxication) men wore women's garlands and women wore men's garlands. The fishermen when they went (early in the morning) with their boats on the sea could count the lamps set in rows in those mansions, which continued still to burn, while (their inmates were) sleeping.

" Near the well-guarded warehouses in the broad street of the merchants who reside on the beach where abounds the Pandanus whose long petalled flowers grow in clusters, endless articles lie crowded outside the warehouses so that they may be stamped with the terrible tiger-emblem (of the Śōlas) and the amount of customs due on them estimated before they are carried to the ships; and outside the ships lie pack-

²⁴ The word used is the Sanskrit *nātaka*, the first use of the word in Tamil poetry. It probably meant dumb-show, which was the form of drama prevalent in South India before it came in contact with Sanskrit drama.

ages stamped with the tiger-emblem, so that the dues on them may be estimated before they are taken away. This (alternate) importation and exportation resembles the pouring of the rain on the hills by the clouds which have taken in water from the sea, and the flowing of the rain which has fallen on the hills down to the sea. The officers famous from old times for safeguarding the revenues of the good king, collect the customs dues all day long without weariness, like the horses yoked to the chariot of the sun whose rays are hot like raging anger.

"The houses have a front yard where the sharp-clawed peacock, looking like the varuṇai (a fabulous eight-legged bird) on the hill on whose tops the clouds rove and on whose sides the bamboos grow, and the bent-legged bull and the ram gambol about. Round the houses run platforms with short steps below and long ladders leaning on them; they have a series of quadrangles and doorways both small and large, and long corridors. The houses are as high as the clouds and possess windows through which the breeze blows. Near the windows stand girls with red soles, thick thighs, yellow jewels (made of gold), broad forelaps, thin garments, complexion like the coral, looks like the deer, gentle speech like the parrot, and beauty like the peacock." * 5

* 5 செழுந்தாண்டி லித் தாழ்ச்சீர்த் திய
குறுங்கடரைக் குடிசைப்ப
ணிலயடைந்த விஞன்போல
வலையுணங்கு மணன்முன்றில்
வீழ்த்தாழைத் தாட்டாழ்த்த

The imports of the place were " horses which held

வெண்ட தானத்துத் தண்புங் கோதையர்
 ினோச் சுறவின் கோடுகட்டு
 மனோச்சேர்த்திய வல்லணங்கினன்
 மடந்ருறை மலர்மலர்தும்
 பிணர்ப்பெண்ணைப் பிழிமாத்தியும்
 புன்றில யிரும்பாதவர்
 பைத்தழைமா மகாரிரோடு
 பாரிரும் பனிக்கடல் வேட்டஞ் செவ்வா
 துவவுமடித் துண்டாடியும்
 புலருமணற் பூக்கானன்
 மாமலை யனோத்த கொண்மூப் பேரலவுக்
 தாய்முலை தமுலிய குழலி பேரலவுக்
 தேதூரீர்ப் புனரியோ டியாறுதலை மணக்கு
 மலி யோதத் தொலிகடற்
 நீ தூங்கக் கடலாடியு
 மாசு போகப் புனல்படித்து
 மலவ னாட்டியு முரையதிறை புழக்கியும்
 பாணை குழ்த்தும் பல்பொறி மருண்டு
 மகலாக் காதலொடு பகல்வினா யாடிய்
 பெறற்கருத் தொவ்சீர்த் தறக்க மேய்க்கும்
 பொய்யா மரபிற் பூமலி பெருந்துறைத்
 துணைப்புணர்த்த மடமங்கையர்
 பட்டுக்கித் துதிவடித்து
 மட்டுக்கி மதுமதிழ்த்து
 னைமத்தர் கண்ணி மகவிர்குடவு
 மகவிர் கோதை னைமத்தர் மலையவு
 செடுங்கான் மாடத் தொன்னெரி கோக்கிக்
 கொடுத்தியிற் பாதகர் குருடச்சுட கொண்டவும்
 பாட லோர்த்து காடக வயத்தும்
 வெண்ணிலவின் பயன் றயத்தும்
 கண்ணடைஇய கடைக்கங்குலவன்

their heads high, and pepper in bagfuls, (both of which

மாதுகாவிரி மணங்கூட்டு
 துவெக்கர்த் துயின்மடித்து
 வாலிணர் மடந்ருழை
 வேலாழி யியன்றெருவி
 னவ்விழைவன் பொருள்காக்கு
 தொல்லிசைத் தொழின் மசக்கள்
 காய்கினத்த கதிர்ச்செல்வன்
 நோற் புண்ட மாது போல
 வையகஞாறு மனையின் றி
 புல்கு செய்க் குறைபடாது
 வான்முகந்தரீர் மலைப்பொழியவு
 மலைப்பொழித்தரீர் கடற்பரப்பவு
 மாசிபெய்யும் பருவம் பேரல
 ரீரிளின் று சிலத்தேற்றவு
 சிலத்தினின் று நீர்ப்பரப்பவு
 மனத்தறியாப் பலபண்டம்
 வரம்பறியாமை வந்திண்ட
 யுல்கடிப் பெருங்காப்பின்
 வலியுடை வல்லணங்கிணை
 புலிபொறித்துப் புறகபேரத்தி
 மறியிழைத்த மலிபண்டம்
 பொதுமுடைப் போரோறி
 மழையாடு இனமய மால்வரைக் காண
 வரையாடு வருடைத் தோற்றம் போலக்
 கூருகிர் னுமலிக் கொடுத்தா னேற்றை
 யேழகத் தகரோடுகரு முன்றிற்
 கூறுந்தொடை செடும்படிக் கரற்
 கொடுத்திண்ணைப் பரிநகைப்பிற்
 புழைவாயிற் போகிடைகழி
 மழைதோயு முயர் மசடத்துச்
 சேவடிச் செறகுறங்கிற்
 பாசுழைப் பகட்டங்குத்
 றாகடைத் துகிர் மேளி
 மாலியன் மானோக்கிற்
 கிளிகழலை மென் சாயலோர்.

came) in ships propelled by the wind, gems and gold from the Northern mountains, sandal-wood and agil-wood from the western mountains, pearls born in the Southern ocean, corals born in the Eastern sea, articles from the Gāṅgā, the produce of the Kāviri (valley), food-stuffs from Ceylon, manufactures of Burmah and other rare things (which the commentator says were camphor, rose-water, saffron etc., from China) and other important articles.²⁶ The poet also tells us that in the streets of the city could be seen men who talked many tongues. Hence we may believe that Kāviriippūmbattinam was a flourishing seaport in the days of Karikāl.

Aryan culture in the city:

Chiefly on account of this trade, there was much closer intercourse between this Tamil port and North India. Hence Aryan culture spread in it sooner than in the rest of the Tamil country and attained there an influence which it did not possess in other places. According to the testimony of this poem, in Kāviriippūmbattinam there were "monasteries for (Bauddha and Jaina) ascetics, and groves where the sweet smelling smoke from the gñi poured by the fire-

²⁶ நீரின் வந்த சிமிர்பரிப் புரவியுங்
காவின் வந்த கருக்கறி மூடையுங்
வடமலைப் பிறந்த மணிப் பொன்னுந்
குடமலைப் பிறந்த வாகமு மகிறுந்
தென்கடன் முத்துந் குணகடற் றுகெருந்
கன்னகவாசியுங் காவிரிப் பயனு
மீழ்த்துணவுந் காழகத் தாக்கமு
மசியவும பெரியவு செரிய வீண்டி.

worshipping Rsis with bright locks of hair, drove out the cuckoos with their black mates."²⁷ This is the first time we hear in Tamil literature of settlements of Brāhmanas, Bauddhas and Jainas in any city of the Tamil country (other than Kāñcī). By this time Kāvīrippūmbattinam must have become a great centre of Āryan influence, for in another passage we read that as in Āryan provinces, dialecticians (we may presume they were disputants in logic) "who were authoritative masters of many works which they had learnt fully, planted their terrible flags inviting debate" in that city.²⁸ The cults of the Brāhmanas had spread among the people in the city, for its merchants "worshipped the amaras (the Vedic gods), gave them fire-offerings, reared cows and bulls (for offering in yajña) and upheld the glory of the Brāhmanas who know the four Vedas."²⁹ The amaras of undying fame are also referred

27 தவப் பள்ளி தாழ்ச்சை
 னவீச்சடை முனிவ சங்கி வேட்டு
 மாவுதி கறம்புனை முனைஇக் குயிறம்
 மாயிரும் பெடையோ டிசியல் போதி,

1b, ll. 53-56,

28 பங்கேள்வித் துறைபேசுவ
 தொல்லாணை எல்லாசிரிய
 குறங்குறித் தெடுத்த யருகெழு கொடியும்,

Por II. 169-71,

29 அமரர்ப் பேணிபு மாவுதி யருத்தியும்
 எல்லாநெடு பகடோம்பியும்
 என்மறையோர் புகழ்பாப்பியும்,

1b, ll. 200-202,

to as the guardians of the city.³⁰ "The god installed faultlessly and excellently"³¹ seems also to be an Aryan god.

The old Tamil gods also worshipped :

Not that the old Tamil gods had at all given way on the onslaught of the Aryan ones ; they too flourished in the city. "In the market street there were ceaseless festivals to Murugan in which women, obsessed by him, danced, and the flute and the yāḷ were sounded, and the drums, beaten."³² By this time Murugan had apparently migrated to the valleys. The worship of dead heroes who had become gods and were represented by upright stones planted in their memory and furnished with a shield and spear also continued.³³ So, too, as has been already mentioned, the worship of

³⁰ செவ்வா கவ்விகை அமரர் காப்பின்.

Ib. I, 184.

³¹ கையறு கிறப்பிற் தெய்வம் சேர்ப்பிய.

Ib. I, 159.

³² செவ்வேள்

வெறியாடு மகலரொடு செறியத் தாஅய்க்
குழவகவ யாழ்முரசு
முழவதிர முரசியம்ப
விழவரு வியலாவணத்து.

Ib. II, 154-158.

³³ கிடுகு லிரைத் தெடுகின்றி
கடுகல்வி னரண் பேரல.

Ib. 76-79.

the sea-god, symbolized by a shark's horn. The pillar-god was also worshipped: he was, probably a lingam or a mere post placed in the *podiyil* (place of assembly), which was washed with a solution of cowdung by girls captured in raids, after they had bathed in the ford and purified their bodies by bathing, and where in the evening they lighted lamps and decorated the pillar-god with flowers. Many people worshipped this god.³⁴ This pillar was called *Kandu*. Most probably *Kandaḷi* mentioned as an object of hymns in *Tolkāppiyam*, *Poruḷadigāram* ii 33, was but a variant of *Kandu*. *Naccinārkkinaiyar*, the commentator, explains *Kandaḷi*, as 'the principle beyond all manifested ones, which stands alone without form and without attachment'. This explanation is clearly unacceptable, because the high degree of abstraction implied in this concept is nowhere found in early Tamil poetry; and the idea of hymning the Impersonal is totally foreign to ancient Tamil genius; so much so that the commentator is not able to give a single specimen of such hymns.

Karikāl's patronage of the fire-rite:

One result of *Karikāl's* coming into intimate contact with Aryan culture in his new capital was that his imagination was captivated by the gorgeous fire-rites performed by the *Brāhmaṇas* and he thus became the

34 கொண்டி மகலி குண்டினை முழி
யந்தி மாட்டிய நந்த வினக்கின்
மலரணி மெழுக்க மேறிப் பலந்தொழு
யம்பலர் சேக்குந் நந்தடைப் பொழிவீள்.

first Tamil king that patronised the costly vedic yajñas. The earliest description of a great Śrauta rite performed in the Tamil country is found in the eulogy sung by Karuṅṇāḷi Ādanār on the occasion of Karikāl's death. It runs thus:—"In the assembly of great (Brahmanas) who had mastered the Dharma, those who were well versed in the methods (of vedic sacrifice-) guided the conduct of the ceremonies. The sacrificial hall was round and surrounded by several protecting walls. In it was a place built in the shape of an eagle. At a tall Yūpa-pillar planted there, (the sacrificers) conducted the vedic Yajña, along with their wives whose character was praised by all and who were inspired by the strict rule of chastity."

Imitation of Karikāl's patronage of the fire-rite by later kings

The fashion of patronising the Vedic yajñas started by Karikāl was soon imitated by other Tamil kings. Of Palyāṇaiścolkeḷu Kūṭṭavan of the Śēra dynasty it is recorded in late traditions that he helped the poet Pāḷaiḱ-kaudamanār, the poet who sang about him in the third of the Ten Tens, to perform ten Yāgams, at the end of which celebration, the poet and his wife went

25 அறமதக் கண்ட தெரிமாண வையத்து
முறைநற் கறிபுநர் முன்னுதப் புகழ்த்த
அவியற் கொள்ளைத் துகளறு மகவிரொடு
பருகியருவிச் சல்படைப் புரிசை
யெருமை நகர்ச்சி யூப செங்குண்
வேக வேர்வித் தொழின்முடித் தனகம்.

straight to *svarga*. Palyāṅśūlai Mudu Kūḍumi, a Pāṇḍya monarch patronized several yāgams. He gifted to a Brāhmaṇa sacrificer certain lands which became the subject of a dispute in the VIII century A.D. and were regiven to the donee's descendant, this time to the accompaniment of a copperplate grant. One Perunārkiḷḷi, a successor of Karikāl, got himself crowned in accordance with vedic ceremonies and took on the title of Irāśasūyam vēṭṭa, who performed the Rājasūya sacrifice. Notwithstanding this rite the Śōḷa dynasty was subverted soon after the event and almost disappeared from South Indian history for a few centuries.

Brāhmaṇa Tamil poets

Another result of the total subjugation of Karikāl's imagination by Āryan culture was the rise of several Brāhmaṇa Tamil poets. This broke the dam that kept back Tamil poets from Āryan ideas. Āryan beliefs, Āryan superstitions, Āryan customs (and Sanskrit words) freely entered Tamil life and are referred to in Tamil poetry, side by side with old South Indian ideas, beliefs, superstitions and customs. The poems which exhibit these can be easily seen to be later than the ones where the Āryan element is entirely lacking. Tamil Kings, too, sought affiliation with the Puranic dynasties, Solar and Lunar. Illustrations of all these will be given in a later chapter.

Light thrown by Epigraphy on Karikāl's life:

So far we have considered the career of Karikāl on the basis of contemporary literary evidence. Epigraphic confirmation of some of the events of Karikāl's life can be derived from the traditions

recorded in the epigraphs of an age later than this Śōla monarch's. Thus the inscriptions of Rēṇāḍu, mostly unpublished (one of which was referred to earlier) testify to Karikāl's conquest of that district, his clearing forests, establishment of towns, institution of irrigation systems and foundation of a dynasty of Telugu-speaking Cōḍa kings, who were his descendants. "The existence of a Kingdom called Ohu-li-ye in the time of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang (640 A. D.) somewhere about the tract of country in which we find these Telugu records is conclusive proof that this kingdom existed in the VII century A. D."²⁶ Of the plates of this family the Mālēpāḍu plates of Pūṇyākūmāra have been published in the *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XI. Some time after Karikāl's reign, kings of this dynasty became subject to the Pallavas of Kāñci. After a time the family seems to have dispersed. "Some of them became subordinate to the western Chālukyas who conquered and occupied the northern portion of the Pallava country. A collateral branch appears to have adventured further north to seek service in Chakrakōṭa under the Nāgavamsi King, Jagadēkabbūṣana Mahārāja (A. D. 1060-1061)".²⁷ In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there flourished in Guntur, Nellore, North Arcot, Cudappah and Chingleput districts influential kings of the Telugu-Cōḷa (now changed into Telugu Cōḍa) family who owed allegiance to the Kākatiyas of Warangal.²⁸ The Kākatiyas themselves

²⁶ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. xi. p. 344.

²⁷ Madras *Ep. report* for 1909, p. 112. The so-called Gond dynasty of the Central Provinces was founded by them.

²⁸ *ib.* for 1900, p. 17, b.

trace their descent from the sun and can count among their mythical ancestors the ancient king Karikāla Cōla.³⁹ In the Anantapur district and the bordering Kanarese country there flourished also a branch of these Cōlas. Even as late as the XVI century A. D. Cōla chiefs with the traditionary legend of descent from Karikāla and lordship over the ancient town of Urayūru are found serving as viceroys under Vijayanagara rulers.⁴⁰ Very great must have been the impression left by Karikāl on the imagination of the Telugu people at the dawn of their history for almost every Telugu dynasty to claim descent from him.

Karikāl and the Kāvīri:

These Telugu records refer to Karikāl's achievement in "stopping the overflow over its banks of the (water of) the daughter of Kavēra (i.e. the river Kāvīri)".⁴¹ This phrase is made clear in the Tiruvālpagādu plates of the VI year of Rajendra Śōladēvar I, which say that Karikāl constructed embankments for the Kāvīri river.⁴² That river flooded the country around every year so systematically that the lower valley of the Kāvīri got in ancient times the name of Punal nūḍu, the land of floods. Karikāl apparently rescued the land from this annual visitation by building high flood-banks. This work of Karikāl is not specifically referred to in the Pattiṇappālai which merely states that "he dug tanks and increased the prosperity of the land."⁴³ This work

³⁹ Ib. p. 106, para 44.

⁴⁰ Ep. Ind. Vol. XI, p. 344.

⁴¹ Ib. p. 349.

⁴² S. I. I, III, iii, p. 386.

⁴³ கனல் தொட்டு வளம் பெருத்தி, Pat. I. 284.

does not seem to have appealed to the imagination of contemporary poets as much as it did to that of men of a later age.⁴⁴ But as two independent series of inscriptions—the Telugu and the Tamil ones—specifically mention this tradition, we may well believe that the embankment of the Kāviri was one of Karikāl's minor achievements in the earlier part of his reign.⁴⁵ The great productivity of the Kāviri valley is thus described by Mudattāmakkeṇṇiyār in the closing lines of *Porunarāruppaḍai*. "Bending their backs they reaped the paddy with the edges of their sickles, made heaps of rice-sheaves as high as hills, daily stacked the paddy in never-decreasing ricks which looked like hills, poured it fully in barns which stood close to each other, for every vāli of land enclosed by dykes produced a thousand kalams of good paddy."⁴⁶ This liberal yield could have been obtained

⁴⁴ e.g., the author of *Kalingattuppaṭṭi* st. 184.

⁴⁵ *Porunarāruppaḍai*, II, 240-241, says குரைத்தலைக் குரைப்புனல் வரைப்பகம் புதுதொறும் புனலாடு மகளிர், 'women bathe in the foaming and roaring water when it enters the bound area.' The commentator explains the last phrase as 'tanks and ponds'; but women bathed not in tanks and ponds but in the river itself, when the fresher came. Therefore I am inclined to interpret the phrase வரைப்பகம், as 'the place where the river was embanked,' and to see in it an allusion to the fact discussed above.

⁴⁶ கனிக் குயத்தின் வாய்கொல் வரித்த
குமிகோ டாகப் பிறத்தி கடொறம்
குந்தெனக் குவைய நன்றாக் குப்பை
கடுந்தெற்ற முடையி னிடக்கெடக் கிடக்குஞ்
சாலி கொல்லின் சிறற்கொன் வேலி
யாவிரம் வினையுட் டாக.

only if Karikāl had scientifically regulated the flow of water in the Kāviri. V. Kanakasabai, who is sometimes inaccurate in quoting references, says that Karikāl "constructed sluices and canals to distribute and regulate the water-supply" from the Kāviri, and refers to Śilappadigāram, X. ll. 108-111 as his authority.⁴⁷ The passage referred does not at all refer to any achievement of Karikāl's but merely says, that 'when the tide of the sea is high, the freshes of the Kāviri slope back from its mouth and water flows fast into its channels, sounding ceaselessly.'⁴⁸ This can only prove that there existed irrigation-channels cut from the Kāviri in the age when this poem was composed, which was sometime after Karikāl's time.

V. A. Smith has said that Karikāl "is represented by the early poets as having invaded Ceylon and carried off thence thousands of coolies to work on the embankments of the Kāviri river, a hundred miles in length, which he constructed. He founded Kāvirppaddinam."⁴⁹ This is a tissue of misstatements. No early poet has referred to Karikal's invasion of Ceylon or his carrying off captives. These statements are found only in very late Ceylonese legendary chronicles. There is, besides, no mention anywhere of an embankment 100 miles long. How short or how long Karikāl's embankment was, it is impossible to find out. Karikāl did not found

⁴⁷ The Tamils Eighteen Hundred years Ago, p. 68.

⁴⁸ கடல்வள னெதிரக் கயவாய் தெரிஞ்ஞம்
காவிரிப் புதுநீர்க் கடுவால் வாய்த்தலை
யோவிறக் தொலிஞ்ஞம்.

Ib, x. 107-9.

⁴⁹ The Early History of India, 4th. ed. p. 481.

Kāvirippattinam, for it existed a thousand years before his time, since it is mentioned in the Jātaka Tales, and probably was a seaport long before those Tales were born.

Karikāl and Trilocana Pallava :

The Telugu inscriptions also bear testimony to the fact that this work was done at the instance of Karikāl "by Trilocana and other kings who fixed their glances on his lotus feet.....Trilocana, Trinetra, Trinayana and Mukkaṇṭi are synonymous terms and occur frequently in Telugu epigraphs with the suffix Pallava."²⁰ The history of the Pallavas is divisible into three distinct periods, (1) that of the Pallavas who ruled with Kāñci as their capital and Dhanakaṭṭaka, on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā, as their sub-capital, patronized vedic rites and issued their charters in Prakrit, whose rule was quenched sometime after 350 A.D., about which date one Viṣṇugopa reigned there, as mentioned in Samudra Gupta's Prāsasti at Allahabad, (2) that of the Pallavas some of whom were but titular lords of Kāñci but who issued their charters in Sanskrit from places other than that city and situated in the Telugu districts on the East Coast and who flourished in the V century A.D., (3) that of the Pallavas who again ruled from Kāñci, whose inscriptions are both in Sanskrit and Tamil, who built several temples and had become assimilated with the Tamils before 600 A.D. These flourished from the middle of the VI century to the end of the IX century. The second period (that between the middle of the IV century and the middle of the VI century) was the time when the Pallavas had no hold over

²⁰ Ep. Ind. vol. xi. p. 340.

Kāñci. Probably it was Karikāl who drove them from Kāñci and most probably Trilocana Pallava was the person who was displaced from Kāñci by him and sought dominion in the Telugu country, as a tributary of the great Śōla monarch. Trilocana's name does not occur in the genealogies of the East coast Pallava Sanskrit charters, but "the Kadambas of Goa and Nolambas of Hēmāvatī claim, respectively, Trilocana Kādamba and Trinayana Pallava as the founders of these dynasties."⁵¹ Trilocana founded a town called Trilocanapura, which is now called Peddamuḍiyam, and is situated in the Cudappah district. There are many other facts which prove that Trilocana was not a mythical personage but an actual king who ruled over tracts of the Telugu country. A Telugu-Cōḷa inscription (No. 580 of 1907) mentions the grant of the village of Peruganḍūra to 52 Brāhmanās by Mukkeṣṭi Kāduveṭṭi (i.e., Trilocana Pallava). This king also founded 73 agraḥāras to the east of Śrī Parvata.⁵²

Karikāl and Kāñci:

Besides confining the Kāviri within bunds, Karikāl according to the Telugu Cōḷa records, ruled at Kāñci.⁵³ The Tiruvāṅgādu plates mention that he renovated Kāñci with gold.⁵⁴ This probably means that he covered the dome of the temple of that place with plates of gold. This temple was probably one of the earliest temples to Āgama gods built in South India. The

⁵¹ Ep. Ind. xi, p. 340, lb. x, p. 58.

⁵² Mad. Ep. Rep. 1903, p. 82-83.

⁵³ Mad. Ep. Rep. 1900, p. 17.

⁵⁴ Kāñcim yasca navicakāra kanakaiḥ. V. 42, S. I. I. Vol. III. pt. iii. p. 395.

earliest temple for which a donation is registered in South Indian inscriptions is that dedicated to Bhagavān Nārāyaṇa of the Kūḷi Mahātāraka Devakula (temple) at Dēlūra.⁵⁵ This inscription probably belongs to the end of the III century A.D. Apparently the Āryanization of the Kāñcīpura district was so complete in that early Pāṇḍya period that several temples had been erected in it to Viṣṇu and probably also to Śiva. There is no means of deciding whether the temple which Karikāl renovated was a Viṣṇu or Śiva one.

So far with regard to the life and achievements of Karikāl Śōḷan as testified to by contemporary poets and by traditions which came down from his time and were recorded later in a series of inscriptions. Now for the accounts of later poets. Parapar who belonged to an age later than Karikāl's in an ode included in the collection called Agam describes the earliest battle fought by the king, that of Veṅṇi, and says :—"Kings, along with eleven petty chiefs fell and their war-drums were destroyed in the battle-field of Veṅṇi where intoxicated soldiers roared and excellent kings fought with Karikāl, the famous, whose strength was inspired by burning anger."⁵⁶ The presence and defeat of eleven petty chiefs in the battle of Veṅṇi, besides the two kings, is perhaps a genuine bit of tradition, though not

⁵⁵ Ep. Ind. viii p. 143 ff.

⁵⁶ காய்க்கென மொய்யம்பிற் பெரும்பெயர்ச் சரிகா
லார்சலி சுறவின் வெண்ணி வாயிற்
செருழு மன்னர் மறவிய ஞாட்பி
ளரிழியிசை முரசும் பொருகனத் தொழியப்
பதினொரு வேளிரொடு வேந்தர் சாய.

mentioned by the previous poets who were the contemporaries of Karikāl Śōjan. So, too, is the account of the defeat of nine petty chiefs in the course of one day in the battle of Vāgai (perhaps in the Śēra dominions), one of the petty incidents in the course of Karikāl's subjugation of the Tamil country. This is described by Pararar, who refers to "the famous kings who would not walk before the great Śōja monarch, Karikāl, and the nine (wielders of) umbrellas, who were destroyed in the course of one day (in a battle) which shook the battle field of the Vāgai, which cannot be worn."⁵⁷ Vāgai is a flower and a place; hence the pun in 'Vāgai which cannot be worn', so described as to distinguish it from 'the Vagai flower which can be worn.'

Karikāl—myths :

In the course of time many incredible legends gathered round Karikāl's name and came to be recorded in literature. Thus the Ślappadigāram, an epic poem composed some time (we cannot say how long) after Karikāl's death and the repository of many legends describes, among the spots where sacrifices were offered to the gods at Kaviripūmbattinam in the course of a procession connected with the Indra festival, the places where were kept a triumphal canopy, an assembly pavilion and an ornamental gateway. As this passage attributes some incredible exploits to Karikāl, it is quoted here. It

⁵⁷ பெருவளம் கரிகால் முன்னிலைச் செல்வரர்
குடா வானைப் பதர் லை யாடுபெற
வென்பது குடையு ளன்பக வெழித்த
மீழன் மன்னர்.

says, "Having no more enemies to contend with in the wide world,⁵⁸ but desirous of warfare, the great Śōlan⁵⁹" left (his capital) on an auspicious day with sword, royal umbrella, and drum covered with a fleecy skin; hoping that his strong arm might meet a worthy foe in the holy direction, he proceeded north. Then (in that past time) his constant and earnest desire was frustrated by the fruitful Himalayas where the Gods reside; so on its top (lit. on the nape of its peak) he carved the figure of the tiger with the bent stripes (i. e., his royal crest). On his return with his desire unaccomplished the king of the fair Vaccira country, hedged in by a large (body of) water, gave him as tribute a triumphant canopy (of pearls, as the commentators add). The King

⁵⁸ For 'in the wide world,' the text has இரு சீமைநோக்கின், which the commentator explains as 'in the two directions', of the Śōla country, i. e., in the Śēra and Pāṇḍya countries, a rather forced interpretation.

⁵⁹ Karikāl is not named in this passage, but which refers to திருமா லாலை, 'the blessed, great Śōla monarch.' As Karikāl is given this very title in Paṭ 1. 299, the phrase here may be taken to mean Karikāl. The colophon to Puṇam 58, says that that poem was sung by Kārikkannār of Kāvīrīpūmbaṭṭinam when Perundiru māvaḷavan who died at Kurāppaḷi and Peruvaḷudi who died at Voḷḷiyambalam sat near each other. There is nothing in the poem itself to show who was the great Śōlan and who the great Pāṇḍyan. As the places where they died are mentioned as distinctive marks, probably they were later persons than Karikāl. Kanakasabhai assumes the Śōlan to be Karikāl, without any evidence to support the identification. (Tamil Eighteen Hundred Years Ago, p. 68.)

of Mugady, armed with a sword, opposed him and finally gave him an assembly-pavilion. The Lord of Avanti gladly presented him with a beautiful ornamental gateway. Though these were made of gold and gems they were such as the cleverest artisans had never seen. They were the handiwork of Mayan (the divine artificer) given to them as a return for the help which their ancestors had given him when he was in trouble. To them (i.e. these three places) were jointly given offerings by the great ones."⁸⁰

80 இதுதலை மருங்கிற் பொருகரைப் பெருஅச்
செருவெங் காதலிற் திருமா வனவன்
வாளுங் குடையு மயிர்க்கண் முகந்
காடொடு பெய்து சன்னூர்ப் பெறுகலிம்
மண்ணக மருங்கினன் வலிச்சுழி தோய்னனப்
புண்ணியத் திசைமுகம் போயிய வச்சா
னனைலி னுக்கத்து கைபிறக் கொழியப்
படைவிலக் கிபலிப் பயங்கெழு மலையென
நிலையவ குறைபுங் கிணையப் பிடர்த்தலைக்
கொடுவரி யேற்றிக் கொள்கையிற் பெயர்கோத்து
மாரீர் வேலி வச்சா சன்னூட்டுக்
கோலினை கொடுத்த கொற்றப் பத்தரு
மகத சன்னூட்டு வாள்வாய் வேந்தன்
படைபுறத்துக் கொடுத்த பட்டிமண் டபழு
மவந்தி வேந்த னுலந்தனன் கொடுத்த
சிவத்தோங்கு மரபிற் றோண யாவிலும்
பொன்னினு மணியினும் புணர்த்தன வாவினு
றுண்வினைக் கம்பியர் காணு மரபின
துயரீங்கு நெப்பினவர் தொல்லோ குதவிக்கு
மயன் விதித்துக் கொடுத்த மரபின வினைவநா
மொருங்குடன் புணர்த்தான் குயர்க் கோ தேத்து
மரும்பெறன் மரபின் மண் பம்.

§ il, v. II. 89-110.

The mention of Mayan, the divine architect, of Sanskrit legends, stamps this poem as later than Karikāl's time: likewise the phrase *அரசரார்*.

Giving its face value to the testimony of this passage every person, ancient or modern, who has written about Karikāl, has claimed for this king the credit of subjugating all the kings of India, marching with his army straight to the top of the Himalayas, stamping his crest thereon and on the return march receiving tributes, after hostilities or otherwise, from three great Northern monarchs. A Napoleonic march from the extreme south of India to the top of the Himalayas is an inconceivably difficult feat in any period of Indian History. Moreover the contemporary eulogist of Karikāl, Uruttirāṅgaṇṇār, who according to a late legend was paid for his poem 16 lakhs of gold pieces⁶¹ and who had every reason to exaggerate his master's exploits, does not mention it and does not mention any conquest of Karikāl beyond Rānāḍa. The Telugu inscriptions which systematically mention all Karikāl's achievements do not allude to it. I therefore hold that the statements of the author of Śilappadigāram are inventions of the period when Śōḷa Kings were furnished with genealogies going up to the Sun and were provided with exploits which brought them into contact with Northern heroes, supernatural and natural, and with gifts made by gods. It is not impossible that Karikāl got the three articles as presents from somebody or other, but that he marched up to the Himalayas is clearly a late legend.

Other legends about this king found in later Tamil poems, such as that an elephant sought him out and

⁶¹ Kulingattupparāṇi, st. 1c5.

gave him the royal garland, that he was called, 'the black leg,' because it was singed when he attempted to escape from a fire, are scarcely worth discussion. The Ceylonese chronicles of recent times have contributed their quota of Karikāl legends. One of them, viz., that he carried away from Ceylon a number of slaves and made them work on the Kāviri embankments has already been referred to. These legends are conveniently brought together by Donald Obeyesekere in his *Sketches of Ceylon's History* and may be quoted here. "During the reign of Wankanasikatissa (113-116 A. D.) the King of Tanjore (sic) invaded Ceylon with a large army, ravaged the northwestern portion of the Island, penetrated to within sight of Anurādhapura and retired with an immense quantity of plunder, and not less than 12,000 prisoners. Gaja Bāhu, son of Wankanasika, soon after his accession to his father's throne, avenged the insult that had been offered to the Sinhalese people. He is said to have marched over Adam's bridge with a large force under the command of Nāla-Yodhaya, devastated the country and threatened to raze the city of Tanjore to the ground, unless the King of Tanjore consented to return the 12,000 Sinhalese and, in addition, double that number of Tamils to be taken to Lanka as hostages. The request was complied with and Gaja Bāhu returned to Ceylon bringing with him besides the hostages and the Sinhalese that had been carried away,.....the foot-ornaments of Patiny Devi and the arms of four gods which Gaja Bāhu's forces had plundered."² That this is a late and untrustworthy legend is proved by the fact that the Mahawamsa does not at all refer to it and that the Sōja is called the ruler of Tanjore. Tanjore became

* *Ib.* p. 26.

the headquarters of the Śōlas about 850 A.D., after which date the legend ought to have been invented.

Another point may also be noted here. A Śōla king (not named) is frequently referred to in the *Silappadigāram*. The annotator Aḍiyārkkunallūr who lived not over 500 years ago assumes without the least shadow of proof this Śōlan was Karikāl. But there is nothing in the text of the poem which compels us to think that the poet had this king in view when he speaks of the Śōlan who ruled at Kāvīrppūmbaṭṭinam when the events of the *Silappadigāram* took place. On the contrary, in the two passages where Karikāl is distinctly referred to, his achievements are referred to in the past tense. One of the passages has already been quoted, that about the legendary exploit of his marching to the Himalayas and back. The other occurs in the description of the flood festival, where it is said that "people put on various dresses as on the first day when Karikāl whose fame extended to the sky bathed in the cold freshes."⁶³ This means that Karikāl started the festival of bathing in the first freshes sometime before the epic was composed.

Modern writers who have studied this subject have confused the text with the commentaries and assumed that the statements of the author and those of the commentator who was about a thousand years later than the poet, have the same value as evidence. Much of what has been recently written about the early history of the three Tamil dynasties is but a jumble of contemporary

⁶³ வின்பொரு பெரும்புகழ் கரிகால் வளவன்
தண்பதற்கொன்றோர் தலைகாட்டோவ.

Śil. vi. II. 159-160.

evidence and guesses of commentators and of modern writers, made with a supreme disregard of the laws of historical evidence.

The age of Karikāl: False theories of the relationship of Karikāl and Śeṅguṭṭuvan :

There now remains the question, at what period Karikāl flourished. Some modern investigators have assigned him to the II century of the Christian era. Śeṣagiri Śāstri, Professor of Sanskrit in the early eighties of the last century, first suggested this date in his essay on Tamil literature (1884 A. D.). Like all the earlier investigators he did not differentiate between the evidential value of the texts of poems and that of the interpretations made a thousand years later by commentators and regarded Karikāl as the contemporary of Śeṅguṭṭuvan a Śera King, who is the hero of the III book of Śilappadigāram. As has been already remarked the text itself regards Karikāl as belonging to an age earlier than that of the story. In defiance of this, the commentator regards Karikāl as reigning when the story began. To return to Śeṣagiri Śāstri's theory, Kayavāgu (in Pali Gaḍḍabāhu) was a contemporary of Śeṅguṭṭuvan and therefore of Karikāl. Śeṣagiri Śāstri first identified a Kayavāgu mentioned in Śil, xxx. 1, 160 with Gaḍḍabāhu I of the Ceylon chronicles to whom these chronicles assign the date 113 A. D. 135 A. D.⁶⁴

Coomāraswāmy accepted this suggestion and "in one of his interesting contributions to the history of ancient Tamil literature" ⁶⁵ the Honourable P. Coomāra-

⁶⁴ Essay on Tamil literature 1884 p. 30.

⁶⁵ A half-hour with two Ancient Tamil poets. J. R. A. S. Ceylon Branch. 1894 (Hultsen in S. I, I, II. iii, p. 378.

swāmy allots Kārikāla to the first century A.D. This opinion is based on the fact that the commentaries on the Śilappadigāram represent Karikāl as the maternal grandfather of the Cēra King Śeṅguṭṭuvan, a contemporary of Gaṇabāhu of Ceylon. Mr. Coomaraswāmy identifies the latter with Gaṇabāhu I, who according to the Mahāvamsa, reigned from A.D. 113 to 135.⁶⁰ On this it has to be remarked that the commentaries on the Śilappadigāram do not represent Karikāl as the maternal grandfather of Śeṅguṭṭuvan. In the preface to Adiyārkkunallār's commentaries on the Padigam, a prologue to the poem giving a summary of the story, not necessarily composed by the author, it is said that Śeṅguṭṭuvan was the son of Nārceṇḍi, daughter of the Śōlan who possessed a big chariot (drawn by the) seven horses of the sun who shines bright. Surely this does not mean that Śeṅguṭṭuvan was Karikāl's grandson. In a prose passage printed at the beginning of the XXIX canto occurs the phrase, 'the son born to the daughter of the Śōlan who belonged to the brightly shining sun, i.e., to the solar dynasty, and no more.

So far as I have searched, no poem, old or new, no commentary on any old poem, speaks of any relationship between Karikāl and Śeṅguṭṭuvan. Hence the latter's being a grandson of Karikāl, (or for the matter of that, any relation of the Śōlan monarch) is a modern Karikāl myth. I do not know who invented it. Kanakasabhai says categorically, "Karikāl's daughter was married to the cēra king Athan II and became the mother of Chenkuḍḍuva cēra."⁶¹ He refers to

⁶⁰ S. I. I. II. iii. p. 373.

⁶¹ Tam, 1800 years Ago, p. 72.

Śilappadigāram, xxx, ll. 173-183 as his authority. The passage merely says that Ilāṅgovaḍigal, the author of Śilappadigāram, repeated a message given by a spirit in these words. "(A reader of the future) said, you who sit under the shadow of the feet of your father, there are indications that you will ascend the throne [and not your elder brother, Śēṅguṭṭuvan,]. You, then, cast angry looks (at the soothsayer), and, to remove the distress of Śēṅguṭṭuvan who possessed a brigade of beflagged chariots, (adorned) with garlands emitting sweet smell, presented yourself before the ascetics on the sunny (eastern) side (of the town), gave up the burden of the broad earth and became the lord of the limitless pleasure, as high as the heaven, which cannot be measured by the mind."⁶ It is impossible to imagine

* இன்னத தாணிழ் விருத்தோய் நின்னை
யரசு கீற்றிருக்குந் திருப்பொறி புண்டென்
துறைசெய் தவன்மே னுருத்து கோக்கித்
கொங்கலிழ் "தந்தான்" கொழுத்தேந்தத் தாணை
செங்குட் வென்றன் செல்ல விரிங்கப்
பகல்செல் வரலிற் படியோர் தம்மு
னைவிடப் பாசம மகவு நீக்கித்
இன்னத செல்லாச் செணெடுந் தூரத்
தந்தளி விற்பத் தாசான் வேர்து

xxx, ll. 174-182.

how Kanakasabhai got out of this passage the name of Nāṇṇai and her relationship to Karikāl, on which is based the theory of the early date of the latter, to which Tamil literary circles are so devoutly attached.

At least one century, if not more, must have elapsed between the poems composed by the poets who were Karikāl's contemporaries and the Śilappadigāram.

In the former, Sanskrit words are rare and in the latter very common. In the former there are very few references to Aryan ideas, and even these indicate that Aryan culture had not penetrated the life of the people. In the *Śilappadigāram*, on the contrary, the life described is through and through permeated by Aryan concepts and Aryan religious ideas. The music, the drama, the dancing, and the legends frequently alluded to, are all Aryan. So that any man with the least training in the methods of literary criticism cannot fail to notice that the epic belongs to an age when the Tamil imagination had been thoroughly saturated with Aryan culture, but the contemporary poems about Karikāl belong to an age previous to the Aryanization of Tamil India.

The Age of Karikāl : The Gajabāhu Synchronism :

Moreover the contemporaneity of Gajabāhu with *Seṅguttuvan* rests on very flimsy grounds. With regard to the identification of Kayavāgu of the *Śilappadigāram* with Gajabāhu I of Mahāvaṃso, Hultsch has remarked "with due respect to Mr. Coomāraswāmy's sagacity, I am not prepared to accept this view, unless the identity of the two Gajabāhus is not only supported by the mere identity of the name, but proved by internal reasons and until the chronology of the earlier history of Ceylon has been subjected to a critical examination."⁶⁰ Kanakasabhai did not attempt to meet Hultsch's criticism. S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar, accepting *Sūṣagiri Śāstri's* and Coomāraswāmi's theory, took up this challenge of Hultsch's and attempted to prove the identity of the two Gajabāhus by means of the internal reasons required by Hultsch. He says, "a careful

⁶⁰ S. I. I. III, iii, p. 378.

examination of the first book of the Epic of the Anklet shows that during the early part of the life of the hero—the King of Puhār (i.e., Kāvīrippūmbattinam) was Karikāla chōla. Apart from the fact that the commentator invariably interprets all references to the ruling King as applying to Karikāla (and this itself is much, as the commentator was one thoroughly qualified for the task and can, as such, be expected to embody nothing but correct tradition in his commentaries), there are a number of direct references to him, either by name or by the fact that the erection of the tiger-emblem on the Himalayas was attributed to him.¹⁰ I have pointed out already that the commentator wrote about a thousand years after the author: his guesses cannot be called tradition, for tradition means a story handed down from generation to generation and there is no evidence to show that the commentator's explanation was not invented by him, but was handed down in an unbroken line by generations of previous commentators. The commentator was no doubt a good Tamil scholar and qualified for the task of explaining difficult passages but this cannot constitute him an authority about questions of fact belonging to a thousand years before his time, as is implied by the clause in parentheses in the above quotation. Krishnaswami Iyengar mentions all the direct references to Karikāl in the epic in the following passages. (1) "The last four lines of Canto I blesses the ruler who erected the tiger-emblem on the crest of the Himalayas." This is not correct. For one thing it may be pointed out that the poet does not say that Karikāl "erected" an emblem (in stone, brick, wood or steel). The word used is *porittu*, incised or

¹⁰ Ancient India p. 350.

carved. Again the last four lines of canto I²¹ say "may the Śembiyan (i. e., Śōla king) who possesses the cruel spear that has been used in many battles so wield his sole discus in all directions, that the splendid tiger placed on this side of the Himalayas extend its power to the other side of the golden peak." That is, may the reigning Śōlan extend beyond the Himalayas the power which Karikāl extended to the Himalayas. If any thing this passage makes Karikāl a king who lived before the events of Śilappadigūram took place. (2). "There is direct mention of Karikālan's name and of his rewarding the poet of Pālai (Paṭṭinappālai) in one of the manuscripts consulted by the editor." The mention of the king's name in certain lines found in the Mss. of the text of, or notes on, Śilappadigūram and not recognized as genuine by the other commentator or the editor can by no means prove that the king was a contemporary of the events of the poem. (3). "Further down lines 158—60 of canto VI mention as clearly as one could wish Karikāla as ruling at the time." These lines prove just the opposite: they have been already quoted and imply that certain occurrences in the festival described in the poem resembled the celebration by Karikāl, in former days, of the flood festival.

²¹ இப்பா விமயத் திருத்திய வரன்வேங்கை
யுப்பாலைப் பெசற்கோட். நெழயதா வெப்பாநுஞ்
செருமிகு சினவேந் செம்பிய
செருதளி யாழி யுருட்டுவோ னெனவே.

Sil. i, lb. 65—68.

It is well known that the real or imaginary deeds of a king are attributed to all his descendants. Thus if a king performs the Aśvamedha, the same is

(4). "The commentator explains it as such by giving the passage the necessary expansion." This is what the commentator says. "As in the first day of the festival of the freshes, when this Karikāl whose fame has reached the sky celebrated it, so at the end of this festival, too, the places where the celebration took place shone brilliantly."¹² Instead of saying that Karikāl reigned at that time this means that Karikāl's flood-festival was antecedent to the bathing festival described in the poem. (5). "Not to mention the allusive but undoubted reference to the same personage in lines 95-8 of canto V" I have quoted and translated this passage also; it merely mentions that sacrifices were made in the course of the procession of the Indra festival to certain objects which were acquired by Karikāl in a former time and proves that the acquisition of these objects was before the events of the poem took place.¹³ (6) "Of these three kings praised in canto XVII there is reference to Karikālan's

attributed to his successors. If a man performs the Somayāgam, all his descendants ever after are Somayājis, even though they live the life of vrātyas.

¹² விண்ணிலே சென்று பொருள் பெரிய புகழை
முடைய இக்கரிகால் வளவன் புறப்புகழ் விழை
கொண்டாடும் தலைநாட்போலவே இய்யிழைவி னிறுதிக்கட் புனவாடி
டங்கனும் வீதபெருந் தேன்கு நிறை.

Sil. 2nd ed. p. 201.

¹³ The actual phrase used by the poet புண்ணிய நி
சைமுதம் போகிய வந்தான், on that (distant) day
when (Karikāl) went towards the holy (northern)
direction', suggests that he was a king who lived long
before the events of the poem.

Himalayan exploit in the last stanza in page 400, and this is the last chola ruler referred to." The passage here referred to does not give a list of Sōja kings, with Karikāl as the "last" of the series but is merely the second of a set of three stanzas called U[*varivā*l^{ttu} : in these stanzas the Pāṇḍiyan who wore the garlands of Indra (a mythical personage), the Sōjan who engraved the tiger on the golden peaked Himalayas, and the Śēran who cut the Kaṭambu tree planted in the middle of the ocean are each praised as being identical with the God Kṛṣṇa. How this piece of exaggerated praise of typical kings, who lived before the time of Śēnguttuvan can make them his contemporaries it is impossible to see. (7) "Oanto XXI line 11 clearly state that Karikāl's daughter had married the then Śēra king." As the name of this Śēra son-in-law of Karikāl was Āṭṭan Atti and as Śēnguttuvan's immediate ancestors were his father Sēral Ādan and his grandfather Uliyañjōral, Āṭṭan Atti must have reigned if at all long before Śēnguttuvan. In fact in this passage Karikāl's is conceived as a long past age; for therein Kaṇṇagi enumerates six great ladies who were born before her time in her native city of Kāvrippūmbaṭṭinam and who were famous for devotion to their husbands and mentions Ādi Mandi, the daughter of Karikāl and wife of Āṭṭan Atti as the second of the series of great ladies. Thus all the passages of Śilappadigāram which name or allude to Karikāl prove that his age preceded (we cannot say by how many years) the time when the events of the story began and hence Karikāl's date cannot be deduced from Śēnguttuvan's.

Nor can Śēnguttuvan's date be fixed by the so called Gajabāhu synchronism. Hultsch's objection 'that

the identification is worthless unless supported by internal reasons' has not yet been met. Further Gajabāhu is represented in the Mahāwamsa, the work nearest to him in point of time, as an enthusiastic Buddha. In that work his activities in building Buddhist monasteries are described and not only is there no reference to his introduction of the Pattini cult from India, but the whole tenor of the account of Gajabāhu's life would lead one to the conclusion that he was too enthusiastic a Buddha to care for any other cult. Moreover the late Ceylonese legends which refer to Gajabāhu's conquest of the Sōla country assume that the Pattini cult was antecedent to his time, for he is said to have carried away from Tanjore Pattini's foot-ornaments, thereby implying that Pattini was worshipped as a goddess before his time. In the *Śilappadigāram*⁷² it is said that among others such as the King of Mālva, Kayavāgu, king of Lōka, surrounded by the sea, attended the sacrifice performed by Śenguttuvan in honour of Kannagi's visible elevation to the godhead. The *Uraiperu katturai*, a prose prologue to the Epic, partially contradicts the above statement and says, "Kayavāgu heard of the marvellous story of Kannagi and . . . frequently celebrated the festival" of Kannagi.⁷³ This prologue also says that Peruṅgilli the Śōlan built a temple to the chaste goddess (Pattini Dēvi) at Uraiyūr, but the Epic does not refer to this. The

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மாளுவ வேந்தருட

கடல்குழிவக்கைக் கயவாகு வேந்தரும்
மெய்காட்டாக்க ணிமைமய வரம்பனி
என்னுட் செய்த காணணி வேல்விழில்.

Ib. xxx, ll, 159—162.

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அது தேட்டுக் கடல்குழிவக்கைக் கயவாகு
..... பாடி விழாக்கோள் பன்முறை யெடுத்தது.

Ceylon Chronicles, as already remarked, imply that Pattini Dēvi's temple existed at Tanjore before the time of Gajabāhu. Thus the tales about the inception of the Pattini cult contradict each other so much that they cannot bear critical examination.

There is another difficulty in concluding from the Śilappadigāram that Śaṅguttuvan and Gajabāhu were contemporaries. There is an alternative reading to the word Kayavāgu in the passage of the Śilappadigāram on which all this contention about the "Gajabāhu synchronism" is based. That reading is kāval instead of Kayavāgu. There is no means of deciding which is the correct reading. If kāval is the correct reading, down falls to the ground all the edifice of the theories based on the Gajabāhu synchronism. Any one who has seen Tamil ōlai mss. moth-eaten and brittle, and who remembers that this poem has been from generation to generation either copied from previous mss. or written down from memory, will think twice before attaching so tremendous importance to a doubtful reading as to make it the sole foundation for South Indian chronology.

Other objections to the early date :

The ascription of the I or II century A. D. to Karikāl is objectionable on other grounds too. Neither the Periplus nor Ptolemy mentions Karikāl though they refer to monarchs much less celebrated than this great Śōla Emperor. On the contrary, Ptolemy's geography of Tamil India in the II century A. D. gives us the picture of a land ruled by several petty monarchs and not one that had been brought under the sole discus of a great monarch as the Tamil poems describe Karikāl to be. Moreover the disputation of logicians who flew their flags of challenge in front of their tents, referred to in

Pattinappālai, certainly belongs to an age when dialectics had developed, and this certainly did not take place even in North India before the III century A. D.

Probable Age of Karikāl :

Epigraphical evidence points to the end of the IV century as the period when Karikāl flourished. He wrested Kāñcī from the Pallavas and renovated it with gold. The Pallava rule of Kāñcī was at its maximum strength in the II century and possibly earlier; it continued up to 350 A. D. when Samudragupt's *Prasasti* mentions that Visnugūpa (a Pallava not a Tamil name) was lord of Kāñcī. About this time the Pallava power was weakened by the revolt of Mayūrasarmā, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty of Banavāse. It is therefore probable that Karikāl at about the end of the IV century defeated Trinayana Pallava and drove him out of the Kāñcī district to seek dominion, possibly as a vassal of Karikāl, in the neighbouring Telugu province. This is the only possible explanation of the numerous references to Trinayana Pallava in the Telugu inscriptions and Telugu literature. Another synchronism confirms this conclusion. Eastern Cōlukya inscriptions contain a tradition that the remote founder of their line was one Vijayāditya, an adventurer from Ayodhyā who was killed in battle by Trilocana (or Trinayana Pallava), the ruler of Dakṣinapāṭha. This Vijayāditya was removed by five generations from Pulakēśi II, who became king of Bādāmi in the beginning of the VII century. Karikāl, Trilocana and Vijayāditya were thus almost contemporaries. Hence the most probable period when Karikāl flourished was the end of the IV and beginning of the V century, the central year of his reg being 400 A. D.

APPENDIX.

Was Karikāl a contemporary of Trilocana Pallava ?

(This note has been furnished by K. R. Subramania Iyer, Guṇṭūr Fellow of the Āndhra University).

There are strong and persistent traditions that there was a king named Trilocana Pallava in ancient times in the Telugu country. He is also called Trinayana Pallava, Mukkaṇṭi Pallava and Mukkaṇṭi Kāḍuvetti¹ which names are all synonymous. Apart from the well-known Maekenzie manuscripts², very late records which speak of this early king, there are inscriptions and literary references³ of about the tenth and eleventh centuries, which leave us in no doubt as to the historicity of this little known but well-worth knowing sovereign.

¹ M. E. R. 1908, p. 82. Also 109-10, 153, 244, and 251 of 1893 and 293 of 1892.

² Nellore Inscriptions, D 63, K. G. 24., and also 160 of 1899 and 837 of 1922.

³ Wilson. Catalogue of Mss. Introd. pp. lvii-ixii, cl. cxix, and also Taylor. Cat. of mss. III. 486. Nellore Manual, 436, 657, see also Foulkes : Pallavas.

⁴ Kalingattupparani. See Chr. Coll. May April, and July 1927 for the literary references in the articles by Venkataramanayya. Also T. G. Ārāvamudan's Kūviri and the Sangam Age.

Trilōcana is associated mainly with the present Guṇṭūr, Kṛṣṇā and Nellore Districts, but authorities⁵ are not wanting which make him ruler of the whole of the Deccan before the advent of the Cālukyas into power. The Velanāṇḍa⁶ and Kṛṣṇapadmā⁷ dynasties express in their inscriptions their gratitude to Trilōcana for having favoured their founders with fiefs. The inscriptions of the Telugu Cōlas very rarely begin without a praise of their great ancestor Karikāla of the Kāveri bank fame. Likewise, those of the Telugu Pallavas⁸ never fail to mention their illustrious founder Trilōcana as "the clearer of the forests" and the giver to Brahmins. Not many of the Telugu Cōla inscriptions omit to record the victory won by the Cōla emperor over the Three-eyed Pallava. When a score of inscriptions, despite their late age, mention "an ancient king with an extra eye" we cannot easily brush them aside entirely as valueless.

The lasting service Trilōcana seems to have rendered was the gift of lands to Brāhmanas whom he brought from Ahicchatra in Pāñcālā and settled east of Śrī Parvata.⁹ One inscription¹⁰ speaks of the gift of seven villages in Guṇṭūr District, while another refers to

⁵ Ep. Ind. VI. 147, 155.

⁶ Ib. IV. 34, 48.

⁷ M. E. R. I. 16, p. 136. Also 146 of 1897 and 251 of 1893. Also Ep. Ind. III. 95.

⁸ M. E. R. 1916, 138, Ś. 1157.

⁹ 247 of 1897, Ś. 1022. Also 109-110 of 1893, Ś. 1057 and 779/1922.

¹⁰ 261 of 1897.

seventy on the whole.¹¹ A ruler of the thirteenth century confirms the gift of Trilocana Pallava in Bāpatla Tāluk,¹² probably after satisfying himself about the truth of the ancient grant by means of written evidence or oral enquiry. So large and well known were his charities that his name was handed down by a grateful people to posterity.

When did Trilocana Pallava live?¹³ The Raṇasta-pūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya,¹⁴ the Pāmulaṅkā plates of Vijayāditya VII¹⁵ and the Cellūr plates of Viracōḍa make him a contemporary of Vijayāditya the first Cālukya King. Trilocana, king of the Deccan, defeated and killed the Cālukya invader. The queen of the latter who was pregnant at the time took refuge with Viṣṇubhaṭṭa Sōmayāji of Muḍivēmu (Peḍḍamuḍiyam). Sometime after, a son was born to her and named Viṣṇuvardhana. When he came of age he established his power where his father had failed. This story gives us the clue to the age of Trilocana Pallava. There is a Kanarese inscription¹⁶ in Peḍḍamuḍiyam (Jammalamāḍugu Tāluk), called Trilocanapura in another inscription,¹⁷ which calls that village the birthplace of

¹¹ M. E. R. 1908, pp. 82-84. Also 580/1907, which curiously enough assigns a second Trilocana to Ś. 723.

¹² 803 of 1922, Ś. 1131.

¹³ See Ep. Ind. X p. 340 for Kṛṣṇa Sūstrī's opinion.

¹⁴ Ś. 933, Ep. Ind. VI. p. 351, III, p. 95. See also M. E. R. 1916 p. 136 and 1915, p. 393. Also Ep. Ind. IV. p. 239.

¹⁵ Āndhra Hist. Jour. Rajahmundry, III, p. 278.

¹⁶ Ś. 1046. See M. A. R. 1904-5, pp. 32-42.

¹⁷ 350 of 1905.

Viṣṇuvardhana. There is another inscription¹⁸ also of a later date mentioning Veṅṇubhaṭṭa (Viṣṇubhaṭṭa) as a receiver of lands from Trilocana Pallava, apparently the Somayāji who gave shelter to the Cōḷukya queen.

The expedition of Vijayāditya and his war with Trilocana are also dealt with in a Kōpa inscription¹⁹ of Ś. 1117. If there is any truth in the story, Trilocana must have lived early in the fifth century A. D. as Vijayāditya was removed by about five generations from Viṣṇuvardhana the first Eastern Cōḷukya.²⁰ In 175 of 1899 one Rudrabhaṭṭa Ahicchatra is said to have been benefited with lands by Trilocana. In the family of the donee were born Sūrya and Kuppana who were similarly benefited by Satyāśraya and Viṣṇu Vardhana, the two great royal brothers. But as the number of generations between Rudra and Sūrya is not given we are in the dark as to the exact age of Trilocana though it is certain from the above reference that he lived anterior to Pulakeśi II. In the Pithāpuram stone inscriptions of Prithvīvara of Velanāṇḍu, Ś. 1108,²¹ the founder, Malla I, removed from the former by eighteen kings or thirteen generations is said to have made friends with Trinetra. But even this does not help us any further.

In the Telugu Cōḷa inscriptions, Trilocana Pallava is represented as a contemporary of Karikāla Cōḷa²²

¹⁸ S. I, I, IV, p. 927.

¹⁹ Ep. Ind. IV, p. 94, 239.

²⁰ Ib. XI, p. 337.

²¹ Ib. IV, p. 34, 48.

²² 4469 of 1919, Ś. 1153, M. E. R. 1920, pp. 111-117.

All their numerous inscriptions mention their great ancestor. Some of them give him a northern origin as indeed the later Cōla genealogies of the south do, by tracing him to the Solar family of Ayodhyā, a branch of which the Ikṣvākus, are known to have cut inscriptions in Guṇṭūr District. They also associate him with Kāñci, the capital of the Pallavas. But no connected genealogy can be worked out from these inscriptions which leave wide gaps in the lists. One notable event contained in some of the inscriptions is the encounter of Karikāla with Trilōcana. This is duly chronicled in Telugu and Tamil literatures of the same late period. One of the Mackenzie Mss. draws pointed attention to it. Out of all this mass of materials the synchronism of Karikāla and Trilōcana may be taken as a widely popular belief in the eleventh century A. D. Trilōcana is represented in the stories of the later inscriptions and literatures as a feudatory of the Cōla, who refused to help the latter in embanking the Kāviri. Probably having lost his independence but recently at the hands of his great Cōla contemporary, he was too proud to respond to the order of his overlord, or his contumaciousness may be explained by the distance by which he was separated from the Cōla capital in the south. Anyway, the accounts agree that Karikāla did not spare him and he soon brought his vassal to his knees. In figurative and poetic language the superfluous eye of Trilōcana was plucked out by Karikāla.

We may believe in the substratum underlying these stories and thus establish the contemporaneity of Trilōcana, Vijayāditya and Karikāla.

CHAPTER XXI.

ILANDIRAIYAN.

On the way to his Capital:

Kaḍiyalūr Uruttirāṅṅaṇṇār, the poet who sang the glories of Karikāl in the poem called Paṭṭinappālai has also sung a ruler of Kāñcīpuram, by name Tondaimān Ilandiraiyan, in another of the ten songs, Perumbāṇṇaruppaḍai. The title of the poem means 'the bigger guide to poets' and it calls upon poets seeking rewards to go to Ilandiraiyan, the great patron of bards. As in Paṭṭinappālai, in this poem too, the author gives elaborate and extremely interesting descriptions of the life of the common people in the different natural regions belonging to the territory under the rule of his patron. After taking his reader through the several districts belonging to Ilandiraiyan, the poet shows him a Brāhmana village not very distant from Kāñcī. "The houses had in front of them a shed with short legs to which were tied fat calves; the houses were washed with cowdung and had idols (inside them). Domestic fowl and dogs did not approach them. It was the village of the guardians of the Veda who teach its sounds to the parrots with the bent mouth. If you, (bard), reach (the place), fair faced bangled ladies who are-as chaste as (Arundhatī) the little star which shines in the north of the bright, broad sky, will after sunset feed you on the well-cooked rice named after the bird (explained by the commentator as the rice called *irāsānam*) along with slices of citron boiled in butter taken,

from the buttermilk derived from red cows and scented with the leaves of the karuvēmbu, and mixed with pepper-powder, and the sweet-smelling tender fruit plucked from the tall mango tree and pickled¹." This is, so far as I know, the earliest description of a Brāhmaṇa village in the Tamil land.

Beyond this village lay Nīrppayarū; this word means 'the place named after water' and most probably refers to Kaḍalmallai which came later to be called Māmallapuram and was the chief port of the kings of Kāñcī. In this place too, Brāhmaṇas flourished: for it is said, "crowds of girls played with each other while they bathed; and one of them lost her ear-ornament shaped like a crocodile. A kingfisher, coloured like a sapphire, seeking for prey took the jewel in its bill, and instead of going to the leaf of the palmyra tree filled with birds, sat on the yūpa at which learned Brāhmaṇas had

- ¹ செழுங்கன் நியத்த சிறுதாட் பத்தப்
பைஞ்சேறு மெழுமிய படியு கண்ணகர்
மணையுறை கோழியொடு குமலி தன்னுது
வளைவாய்க் கிள்ளை மறைவிலி பவித்த
மறைகாப் பாள குறைபதிச் சேப்பித்
பெருகல் வானத்து வடவயின் வினக்குஞ்
சிறுமீன் புரையுங் கற்பி னறுததல்
வளைக்கை மகடே வயினநித் தட்ட
கடர்க்கடைப் பறவைப் பெயர்ப்படு வத்தஞ்
சேதா நறுமோர் வெண்ணெயின் மாதுளத்
துருப்புறு பசுங்காய்ப் போழொடு கறிகலந்து
கஞ்சக நறுமுதி யனைஇப் பைத்துணர்
கெடுமரக் கொக்கி னறுவடி விதிர்த்த
தகைமான் காடியின் வகைபடப் பெறுகுவிர்.

Perumbāṇ, II, 237-310.

finished their sacrifice; it looked like a swan-lamp on the mast of the boat of the Yavanas and twinkled like Venus which heralds the dawn."² This sea-coast town though not quite so large as Kāvīrippūmbattinam was a flourishing centre of commerce. "Its grand shore was surrounded by ships which brought horses, white like milk, with waving manes, from the west, and the products of the north. In the streets covered with sand there were ware-houses guarded by servants; in many streets there were mansions of several kinds, reaching the sky, where merchants resided."³ It was a prosperous place; for "food was abundant in its houses; the bulls that plough (the fields) so that crops may be raised, the cows that do not approach (the bulls), rams and dogs wander about it. The women wear curved jewels; their fine cloth waves about the

- ² கண்ட வாயமொடு மீண்டுறைத் தலைஇப்
புனவொடு மகமரி சிட்ட பொலங்குறை
யிசைதேர் மணிச்சொ விசைசெத் தெறித்தெனப்
புன்னார் பெண்ணைப் புலம்புமடற் செல்லாது
தேன்வி யந்தண ஈருங்கட னிறுத்த
வேள்வித் தூணத் தசைஇ யவன
கோதும் விளக்கி னுயர்மிசைக் கொண்ட
வைகுறு மீனிற் பைபயத் தோன்றும்.

Perumb. II. 311-318.

- ³ கீரப்பெயற் தெல்லிப் போகிப் பரற்கேழ்
வாறுளைப் புரவியொடு வடவனத் தருஉ
காவாய் சூழ்த்த களிரீர்ப் படப்பை
மாட மோங்கிய மணன்மலி மறுகிற்
பாதர் மலிந்த பல்வேறு தெருவிற்
கிவதர் காக்குஞ் சேனையர் வரைப்பின்.

Perumb. II. 319-324.

forelay round which there is a zone strung with bells, like the dew formed on the thin boughs of the Cassia (Konrai); they walk like the peacock which cries with joy on the neighbouring hills. They play games with balls made of thread, while their gold anklets tinkle, in houses which are so tall as to reach the sky. They play gently the game of *kajal*, with tiny gold balls made in the shape of the nuts of the *Guilandina Bonduco*, on sand spread like pearls, while their short bangles are moving (up and down)."⁴

The city of Kāñcī :

After passing through many other villages where ancient Tamil cults like those of Murugan flourished, the traveller reached Kāñcī (or rather its suburb Tiruvehkā) where the god slept on the serpent couch, like an elephant resting on a hill where grows the *Gloriosa Superba*.⁵ This is the earliest reference

செல்லுழு பகட்டொடு சுற்றவை துன்ற
மேழகத் தகரோ டெயினம் கொட்கும்
கூழுடை நல்லிற் கொடும்பூண் மகளிர்
கொன்றை மென்சினைப் பணிதவழ் பவைபோற்
பைங்கா முல்கு னுண்டி னுடங்க
மால்வரைச் சிலம்பின் மகிழ்சிறந் தாறும்
பீலி மஞ்ஞையி னாயலிக் கால
தமனியப் பொற்சிலம் பொலிப்ப வுயர்சிலை
வான்றோய் மாடத்து வரிப்பத் தரைஇக்
கைபுனை குறுத்தொடி தத்தப் பைய
முத்த வார்மணற் பொற்கழல் காடும்.

Perumb. II. 325-335.

சாடுபவ சுழித்த பின்னை நீடுகூலைக்
காத்தனஞ் சிலம்பிற் களிது படித்தாக்குப்
பாம்பனைப் பள்ளி யமர்த்தோ னுங்கள்

Ib. II. 371-373.

in Tamil literature to the worship of Viṣṇu stretched on his serpent couch. When this image of Viṣṇu was first conceived we do not know, but the *Anantasāyī* sculptures we now have in India do not go beyond the age of the Guptas.

After crossing the groves and streams of Tiruvohkā, one reached the city of Kāñcī, or Kaccī, as the name became in Tamil. "In its groves, watching for the time when the men, with stick in hand, are negligent, the pregnant monkey seizes (part of) the rice mixed with ghi, intended for the elephants whose trunks hang down. Its long streets have deep ruts made by the strongly built chariots drawn by elephants whose ferocity had been quelled by being tied to posts of heart-wood. The army which guarded the place consisted of invincible, strong, and celebrated warriors. In its shops the people of the very fully inhabited houses were constantly selling and buying. Its gateway cannot be reached by people who prevent the flow of charity. It is protected by a forest all round. It shines like the seed-vessel of the many-petalled lotus on the navel of the blue-hued, tall god (Viṣṇu) from which was born the four-faced god. The high fortwalls were built of brick. It is the greatest of the cities in the wide world covered by heaven and surrounded by the sea, which smells of meat, like the jack tree which produces the sweetest fruit of all, without putting forth flowers, and to whose strong, thick boughs resort crowds of cooing pigeons. That city is superior to others in its glory and in the fact that many men worship there and hold festivals in it. From the city rose as much uproar as when the five Pāṇḍavas who possessed big chariots with carved tops and invincible might, met and defeated the hundred

(Kauravas), who attacked them with a limitless army, in a battle where on rivers of blood floated down the black corpses of white-tusked elephants, which looked like the clouds roving on the red evening sky where the fair-faced crescent shines, and uttered shouts of victory. There resided (Ilandiraiyan), the generous lord who was the greatest patron of the bards who sought his help."⁶

6 காழோ ரிகழ்பத கேசங்கிக் கீழ்
 ரெடுங்கை யானை வெய்யிதி அவனங்
 கடுஞ்ஞன் மந்தி கவரும் காலிற்
 களிதகத னடக்கிய வெளிறிக் கத்திற்
 றிண்டேர் குழித்த குண்டு ரெடுத் தெருவிற்
 கடைதொலை பறியா னமத்துமலி பெரும்புகழ்ப்
 படைகாள் மாத்த பங்குடி செழிஇக்
 கொடைபுங் கோளும் வழங்குர்த் தடுத்த
 வடையா வாயின் கிளைசூழ் படப்பை
 கீளிற யுருவி னெடி யோன் கொப்பூழ்
 கான்முடி வெருவத் பயத்த பவ்விதழ்த்
 தாமரை பொருட்டிற் காண்வரத் தோன்றிக்
 கடும னோங்கிய செககக் வரைப்பி
 னிழுமென் புள்ளி னீண்டுவிளைத் தொழிதிக்
 கொழுமென் னிளைய கோளி புள்ளும்
 பழமீக் கூறும் பலாதுப் போலப்
 புலவுக் கூறுகித்த வானஞ் குடிய
 மலர்தலை யுவகத் துள்ளும் பலர் தொழ
 விழவுமேம் பட்ட படிவிறன் மூன
 சய்வாய் வளர் பிறை குடிச் செய்வா
 யந்தி வானத் தாமுமழை கடுப்ப
 வெண்கோட் டிரும்பிணக் குருதி யீர்ப்ப
 வீரைப் பதின்மரும் பொருதுகைத் தவியப்

It has to be remarked that in the above passage the reference to 'many men worshipping and holding festivals in Kāñci probably means that representatives of the Northern Āgama cults—Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Jaina, and Buddha—lived in that city, as they did when Ywan Chwang visited the city two centuries later. In the description of the Bhārata battle may be noticed traces of the influence of the later Sanskrit literature characterized by violent hyperbole, unknown to the ancient Tamil bards. This is due to the fact that the author Kaṇṇaṇār, son of Rudra (Uruttiraṅgaṇṇaṇār) was a Brāhmaṇa and that the subject of the poem was Kāñci, which, as I have pointed out, had been Aryanized for about a thousand years before the time of the author. I shall therefore give from this poem a few more Aryan references to show the great difference between this poem and the early anthologies in the matter of allusions to Aryan beliefs. Viṣṇu is referred to as the ancestor of Iṇdiraiyan and described as "having traversed the broad earth, as having in his breast a beautiful mole and as being of the colour of the sea"†. The passages describing the vedic recitations of the Brāhmaṇas and the yūpas at which they sacrificed have already been quoted. The prowess of Iṇdiraiyan is compared to that of the

பேரமர் கடத்த கெழுஞ்சி செங்குதே
 தாராச் செருவி னையர் போல
 வடங்காற் தானையோ இடன்றுமேல் வந்த
 வெள்ளைத் தெய்வ குலைவிடத் தார்த்துத்
 கச்சி யோனே.

Perumb. II, 393-420.

† இருசிலங்கடத்த திருமற மார்பின்
 முகீர் வண்ணன்.

Perumb. II, 29-30.

Pāṇḍavas, "The kings who waited with tribute in front of Ilandiraiyan's court" are compared to "the sailors who wait on canoes which ply across the broad Ganges on whose bed gold particles roll, which is difficult to cross, flows down from the brightly shining, tall peaks of the fair mountain where the winkless gods reside, and tears through the white foam of the waves of the sea,"⁸ "The goddess round whom the Tunaṅgai is danced" has been in this poem converted into the Aryan Mother-goddess "whose great womb gave birth to the Red God who wears yellow (gold) ornaments and killed the cruel demon on the expanse of the white waves (of the sea)"⁹. The universe is referred to as "as the beautiful, cool world named after the jambu fruit," i.e., Jambudvīpa.¹⁰ There is besides an allusion to the "science of horses,"¹¹ Finally Munis are said to "tend the red fire with sticks brought by white-tusked

⁸ இமையவ ருறையுந் திமையர் செல்வரை
வெண்டிரை கிழித்த விளக்குகடர் கொடுக்கோட்டுப்
பொன்கொழித் திழிதரும் போக்கரும் கங்கை
பெருநீர் போகு மிரியன் மாக்க
சொருமரப் பாணியிற் றாங்கி யாங்குத்
தொய்யா வெறுக்கையொடு துவன்றபு குழிஇ.

Ib. II. 429-434

⁹ வெண்டிரைப் பரப்பிற் கடுஞ்சூர் கொன்ற
பைம்பூட் சேய் பயந்தமா மோட்டுத்
தணக்கையரு செல்வி.

Ib. II. 457-459

¹⁰ காவலந்தன் பொழில்.

Ib. I. 465.

¹¹ தூலோர் (புகழ்ந்த புரவி).

Ib. I. 467.

elephants.¹² Not only Aryan ideas but also Sanskrit words occur more frequently in this poem than in the early anthologies; a few examples of words borrowed from Sanskrit, mostly wantonly, are *śagaḥam* (l. 50), *nāḍagam* (l. 55), *teyvam* (l. 104) *ṇḍam* (l. 255), *anḍiram* (l. 260), *taruppaḥ* (l. 261), and *amudu* (l. 475). But notwithstanding the freer use of Aryan allusions than in contemporary poetic productions, this poem has not been influenced by Sanskrit literature as such; it is a specimen of the guide (*āṇṇupadai*) class of poems and fully maintains the traditions (called in Tamil *marabu*) of ancient Tamil literature. It describes the life-conditions of the five regions and the customs of the Tamil people quite like other Tamil poems of the early epoch, though as it was composed in Kāñcī, then the headquarters of Aryan culture in Tamil India, and there are abundant traces of Aryan influence.

Ilandiraiyan, the hero of the poem, was not famous for any military exploits; though his prowess is described, as usual in such poems, in terms of exaggerated praise, no definite achievement, no victory in any specific battle, no conquest of foreign territory, is attributed to him. Vague phrases of praise such as that "he desired to destroy his enemies' fort-walls and capture their crowns, but not to make peace with them,"¹³ mean as little as did the title of king of

¹² செத்திப் பேணிய முனிவர் வெண்கோட்டித்
கனிதரது விதகின் வேட்கும். Ib, ll. 438-439

பகைவர்

¹³ கடிமதி வெறித்த குடுதி கொள்ளும்
வென்றி யவ்வது வினையுடம் படினும்
மொன்றல் செவ்வா.

Ib, ll. 450-453.

France used by British sovereigns long after they lost every inch of land in France. Hence Ilandiraiyan's reign of the Kāñci district has no historical significance. But as he is eulogized by the poet who also sang in praise of Karikāl, Ilandiraiyan's relationship with the latter becomes an important question which deserves to be discussed. Kanakasabhai assumes that Ilandiraiyan usurped the throne of Kāñci during Karikāl's boyhood; but as there is absolutely no evidence for this statement, it deserves no consideration. It is but a bad guess and no more. As Ilandiraiyan was a contemporary of Karikāl, he must have been appointed ruler of Kāñci after Karikāl's conquest of the place and continued so after Karikāl's death.

The inscriptions of the Cōḍas of the Telugu country say that Karikāla had a grandson called Tonḍamana.¹⁴ Ilandiraiyan being the only known Tonḍaimān of the period is most probably this Tonḍamana. In Perumbēṇaruppaḍai, Ilandiraiyan is called 'the descendent of Tonḍaiyēr.'¹⁵ This word Tonḍaiyēr or Tonḍaiyar was used as indicating a class of people, also called Tiraiyar. This is proved by the fact that it is said that 'the tall hill of Vēṅgaḍam belonged to the

¹⁴ No. 123 and 205 of 1899, referred to in Madras Epig. Reports 1900—17. These charters naturally do not concern themselves with the sons of Karikāl, who ruled in the Śōḷa country.

¹⁵ தொண்டையோர்மருக.

Perumb. I. 454.

Tiraiyan of victorious spear¹⁶ by Kannaṇār, son of the man of Kāṭṭūr. Another poet of the same age, Erukkāṭṭūr Tāyaṅgaṇṇanār, Kannaṇ the son of Tāyan of Erukkāṭṭūr, says, "Vēṅgaḍam belongs to the Tondaiyar whose well-trained elephants fight valiantly and on whose tall peaks, hard to praise, masses of clouds crawl and from where bright rivulets rise."¹⁷ The word Tiraiyan can be derived only from the word tirai, 'the sea,' 'the wave' and can therefore only mean 'a seaman,' 'one belonging to a maritime tribe,' 'a chief of such tribe.' The Tiraiyar were probably the tribe who in early times inhabited the east coast of what are now called Chingleput and North Arcot Districts. The word Tondaiyar is derived from 'tonḍai' the name of a creeper, *Coccinea Indica*, Tondaiyar therefore means the tribe or the family which had the tonḍai as its emblem and wore garlands of it in fighting and on other occasions. As the names of Tondaiyar and Tiraiyar were applied to the same tribe, we can infer that the Tiraiyar tribe used the Tondai as their emblem. Tondaimān was a title of Ilandiraiyan; it can only mean 'one to whom pertained the garland of Tondai.' If this Tiraiyan was a chief of the Tondaiyar, how could he have also been

¹⁶ வென்றி வேற்றிசையன் வேங்கட செவ்வரை, Agam 85. 1. 9. It may also be noted that Ilandiraiyan is called in Perumb, L 37, பல்வேற்றிசையன், 'Tiraiyan of many spears'.

¹⁷ வினைகளில் யானை வீற்ற போர்த் தென்னகைய
பினமறை தவழு மேற்றிரு செங்கோட்
டோங்குவன் எருவி வேங்கடம்.

the grandson of Karikālan? This could have been if his mother was a Tiraiya woman. That Illandiraiyan was descended both from the Śōla and Tiraiya families is mentioned in the Perumbēnārpuṭṭai. "You are born in the family of (the Śōlan who is) the descendant of the sea-coloured Viṣṇu who strode over the broad earth and has a blessed mole on his breast, the king noted for being the chief among the three sovereigns whose armies with their loud drums guard all the boings of the broad earth. (The Śōlan is chief among the kings) because he is as faultless as the right-whorled chank which is reputed to be the best of the shells that come from the bright broad ocean, and his sceptre repels injustice and desires justice. You (also) belong to the family given by the waves."¹

Naccinārkkiniyar, the commentator on the Ten Songs, was puzzled by the phrase in the above passage, 'given by the waves' and tried to explain it by means of a legend known to him. He says, "the Śōlan of Nāgapattinam went through a hole (in the surface of the earth?) to the Nāglōkam and embraced a Nāga girl.

¹ இருநிலம் கடத்த திருமறு மரப்பின்
முன்னீர் வண்ணன் பிறங்கடை யநீர்த்
திரைதரு மரபி னுரவோ னும்பன்
மலர்நிலை யுலகத்து மன்னுயிர் காக்கு
மூலக முழங்கு தானெழுவ குன்ற
யிலங்கு நீர்ப் பாப்பின் வளைமீக் கடறம்
வயம்புரியன்ன வரைவீங்கு சிறப்பி
னவ்வது தடித்த வறம்புரி செங்கோல்.

Perumb. II, 29-36.

Then she asked him how to dispose of the child of their union. He said to her that if she floated the child on the sea with a bit of the *Tondai* creeper tied for identifying him and if he should reach the shore, he would give the child the rights of sovereignty and grant him a district to rule over. She sent her child as directed by him and as the wave gave him, he was called 'wave-man' (*Tiraiyan*).¹⁹ This explanation is patently absurd because the *Tiraiyar* were a tribe as already shown.²⁰ Certain recent writers, however, have not only taken this legend to be a historical truth, but have made it more absurd by identifying *Ilandiraiyan* with the child of another legendary love affair, this time not of a *Nāgapattinam* *Śōlan*, but a *Kāvīripūmbattinam* *Śōla* King, whose natural son was not floated on the waves but was sent in a ship, was wrecked in a storm and of whom nothing more was heard of. This story occurs in the *Maṇimēgalai*. The *Śōla* king's pre-occupation with the fate of the child, for unlike the *Nāgapattinam* *Śōlan*, he did not see his son, led to his neglecting to perform an *Indra* festival which was due at the time, and, as narrated in the romance, this neglect led to the sea swallowing the ancient seaport. Either legend is incredible and blending them together will not confer credibility on them.

The editor of the *Puram* ascribes ode 185 to *Tondaimān* *Ilandiraiyan* and also says that ode 95 sings about a *Tondaimān*'s armoury. 'Tondaimān' seems to be compounded of the Tamil word 'Tondai' and the Sanskrit suffix 'mān' (mat) and probably means

¹⁹ And there was another *Tiraiyan* chief, the lord of *Pavattiri*, who wore gold jewels *Agams* 310. II, 6-7.

the chief to whom the *Toṇḍai* pertains. '*Toṇḍaiyar*' means 'the tribe whose symbol was the *Toṇḍai* creeper'. *Toṇḍai*, *Coccinea Indica*, is in modern times more usually called *Kōvai*, but the name '*Doṇḍe*' is the ordinary name of the plant in Telugu. The later Pallava kings, i. e., those who recaptured *Kāñci* before 550 A. D. and since then ruled with that place as capital till nearly 900 A. D., mixed with their Tamil subjects, the *Toṇḍaiyar*, more intimately than the earlier Pallavas and in fact became fully Tamilized. They became patrons of Tamil poets who have referred to them as '*Toṇḍaimān*,²⁰ *Toṇḍaiyarkōn*,²¹ *Toṇḍaimannavan*,²² all meaning king of the *Toṇḍaiyar*. The country also came to be called *Toṇḍaināḍu*, or *Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam* (Sanskritized as *Tuṇḍaka Viṣaya*, *Tuṇḍira Viṣaya*). But all this took place in the VIII century. Yet some recent writers have argued that *Toṇḍaiyar* was a translation of Pallavas, or vice versa. This is impossible for *Toṇḍai* means a particular creeper, either *Capparis horrida* or *Coccinea Indica*, whereas Pallava means any sprout, twig, or tender leaf. The Pallava kings were after the VI century called in Tamil '*Pōttaraiyar*,' and this may be a translation of Pallava *rāja*, for *pōttu* means a twig. Hence all theories deriving '*Toṇḍaiyar*,' the name of a Tamil tribe, from Pallavar, the name of an Aryanized royal family which had emigrated from the North or vice versa, are untenable.

²⁰ *Sundaramūṛṭi Nāyanār's Vaṇa Tīrumullai Vāyil*. Paḍigam, st. 10.

²¹ *Tirumaṅgai Ālvār's Periyatīramolī*, ii. 8. 10. 1.

²² *Ib.* V. 8. 9. 1.

Ilandiraiyan patronized Tamil poets, because he was a Tamil chief. He was also a Tamil poet himself. One of his odes is found in the *Puram* and is translated here as a specimen of royal poetic composition and not because it is more poetical than that of plebeian poets. "The cart of (royal) protection that is moved over the world, like the cart made by joining a plank to (two) wheels, will move easily along the road without mishap, if the driver is efficient. If he cannot drive well, it will all during the day sink in the mud of hate and give rise to a series of disasters."²³

After this flight into the region of the science of politics, Ilandiraiyan composed three odes two in the kind called *Neydal*, and one in *Mullai*, all found in the *Narppai*. The first of them runs thus:—"It is proper that a man should speak loving words to a woman who is weak on account of the mental agitation caused by the disease (of love). What kind of a man, tell me, my playmate, is this lord of the sea-side region where the sprays of the stinking sea-water fall upon the clusters of the buds of the Alexandrian laurel, that he should not bring out my love by understanding that (love of) his breast has caused unbearable distress to me, and, that I, being a woman, have to suppress the light of love (from my

23 கால்பார் கோத்து ஓசலத் தியங்குந்
காவற் காகா இடைப்போன் மாணி
ஊறின் னுடி யாநிலரிது படுமே
யுய்த்த நேற்கு னுயின் வைகலும்
படைக்க முன்னற் பட்டு
மிகப்படு நீயோய் தலைத்தலைத் தருமே.

face), just as the lustre is hidden in the raw pearl which the skilled artizan has not cleaned and made bright."²⁴

The next poem describes how the companion of the maiden consoles her:—"Maiden, you asked me whether this was the season when your lover, who departed to the cruel desert where beholders are frightened by the heat of the sunlight which looks like a white cloth spread on the long path difficult to cross and which is totally devoid of water, promised to return. (No), the ignorant clouds, forgetting (the proper season), have drunk the waters of the sea, become pregnant till they cannot any more contain the water and have poured it; and, their foolish minds imagining it to be the season of heavy rain, the ignorant Piḍavu shrubs, the Cassia and the November-flower plant have flowered. (Do not think it is the rainy season)."²⁵

24. தோயிலைக் கலங்கிய கதளழி பொழுதிற்
காமஞ் செப்ப வான்மகந் கமைபும்
பாளென், பெண்ணை தட்ப ஹண்ணிதிற் றுவங்கி
கைவல் கம்பியன் கலின்பெறக் கழாஅ
மண்ணுப் பருமத் தேய்ப்பக் குவிலினர்ப்
புண்ணை யரும்பிய புலவுநீசு சேர்ப்ப
னென்ன மகனகொ ரேழி தன்யவி
ஞர்ய முடைய ராவி
மார்பணம் குறுகை யறிமா தோனே.

Nat. 94.

25. நீதற வறத்த சீரம்பா வேண்டத்
துகெல்லிசித் தன்ன வெயிலவி குருப்பி
னஞ்சுவரப் பளிக்கும் வெஞ்சுவ யிறந்தோர்
தாம்வரத் தெடுத்த பருவம் காண்வர
லிதுவோ வென்றிசின் மடந்தை மதியின்று
மறத்து கடன் முகந்த கமஞ்சுன் மாமழை

" My charioteer, have you understood the state of mind of the faultless, young maiden who, while sweet smell issued from her, on the hill of sand gathered by the beating waves of the ocean, wanted to catch the crabs which were playing there and, becoming tired of running after them, gave up the chase, and, when I, now full of distress, proposed to go away from her in search of wealth, became tongue-tied, plucked the sweet flower-clusters from the low branches of the Cassia and rubbed them together with the tender leaves and scattered them with her hands and became dumb-founded."⁹⁶ Of these three poems the former two are ascribed to Ilandiraiyanār, and the last to Tondaimān Ilandiraiyan, both being most probably the same person. I think there is an air of artificiality in these poems, indicating that the author is repeating stock phrases of poetic convention, uninspired by first-hand knowledge; as also is trace of the atmosphere of Sanskrit poetry

பொறுத்தல் செல்லா திறத்த வண்பயன்
காரென் றயந்த யுள்ளமொடு தேர்வில்
பிடயுள் சொன்றையுள் கோடறு
மடவ வாகலின் மலர்த்தன பவலே.

Nag. 99,

⁹⁶ அறிதறு மறிதியோ பாக பெருங்கட
லெறிதிரை கொழிய வெக்கர் வெறிகொள்
வாவெரி யவவ னேடுவயி னூற்று
தகைஇயுள் ளொழிந்த வகைநீர் குறுமகட்
குயலினென் சொன்றியா யுண்ணோ புரைப்ப
மறுமொழி பெயர்த்த லாற்று னறுமலர்
ஞாழ லஞ்சனைத் தாழிணர்க் கொழுதி
முறிதியிர்க் துதிர்த்த கைய
னறிவஞ குறவி யாய்மட லிலையே.

Nag. 106.

Ilandiraiyan's odes and the Perumbāṇṇappadai are the first Tamil poems from Kāñcīpura district—the Draviḍa country of Sanskrit authors. A work called Ilandiraiyam, either composed by him or dedicated to him, is mentioned in commentaries of a later age: this seems to have become extinct. For centuries before Ilandiraiyan's time Aryan or Aryanized Rājas, whose language of administration was Prakrit ruled over Kāñcī district; they did not patronize Tamil poets, who were attached only to the traditional Tamil courts of the Śōlas, Śēras and Pāṇḍiyas and to those of the many Tamil chieftains. Karikāl's conquest of Kāñcī first brought that place within the ambit of Tamil literature. This explains the total absence of any reference to the Pallavas in the early Tamil poems now extant. After the Pallavas became Tamilized, references to them in Tamil literature become frequent.

Kāñcīpura remained a Śōla dependency till the middle of the VI A. D. century when it was captured by the Pallava Kumāraṇṇa. One of his descendants Śimhaviṣṇu added the Śōla province to his territories and this led to great changes in his history of the Tamil land, which it is outside the scope of this volume to recount.

CHAPTER XXII

ŚOLA KINGS AFTER KARIKĀL.

Scanty historical information from the odes :

The Text of the one thousand and six hundred odes of the early anthologies contains stray allusions to the deeds of kings and chieftains. They are casual and also so rare that it is not possible to construct any connected history of the Tamil Kingdoms during the period when the odes were composed, or even full biographies of the persons referred to. As in the case of Karikāl, the names of battles fought by kings, the places where the battles were fought, and the names of the defeated kings can alone be derived from this source. Oftentimes the odes are but vague eulogies of the prowess of kings. Their one virtue is that they are so realistic that exaggerated praise and impossible feats are not ascribed to the monarchs as in the *Śilappadigāram* and later Tamil poems. The older bards might not have been restrained in the matter of eating and drinking and were devoted too much to the welfare of the singers and dancers they attached themselves to, but they were blunt men who administered rebuke to kings when necessary, and on all occasions gave them sound advice.

Māḍalan Maduraikkumaranār of Ericoilūr in Kōnāḍu was, according to the colophon, kept loitering in his court by Perundirumāvalavan who died at Kurāppelli, for a very long time without being given the usual rewards and he scolded the king thus :—

"Lord, we (poets) do not esteem you for your possessing chariots on whose tops the flags fly and which are drawn by horses which gallop as fast as the wind blows, or large elephants which can charge on hills and fight with an army provided with weapons shining like the sea, or for your being victorious in war, your drums roaring as terribly as the thunder. We do not respect the might of your royal white umbrella, which protects your wealth or that you have a large infantry and wear bright jewels. Those that are honoured by us may be lords of small village surrounded by a hedge of thorns, where the people eat boiled ragi which grows on poor soil, along with the short, evil-smelling leaves of the Munnai (*Premna integrifolia*), which has been left unbrowsed by goats, but they are men who know how to treat us. Even in distress we will not respect the useless wealth of the ignorant; but will think highly of the small wealth of the wise, because it will be of some use to poets."¹

¹ வளரிநடத் தன்ன வரவுய்ச்செ வியுளியொடு
கொடிதடங்கு மிசைய தேரின கொளுஅக்
கடங்கண் டன்ன கொண்டைத் தாணையொடு
மலைமாத மலைக்குங் களிற்றின கொளுஅ
வுருமுரற் தன்ன வுட்குவரு முரசமொடு
செருமேம் படுஉம் வென்றிய கொளுஅ
மன்கெழு தாண யொண்புண் வேக்தர்
கெண்குடைச் செவ்வம் வியத்தலோ வியமே
யெம்மால் வியக்கப் படுஉ மோரோ
யிடுமுட் படப்பை மறிமேயக் தொழிந்த
குதறறு முஞ்ஞைக் கொழுங்கட் குற்றிடகு
புன்புல வரகின் சொன்றியொடு பெறுஉஞ்
சிறார் மன்ன ராவினு மெம்வயிற்

Kanakasabhai identifies the king rebuked here with Karikāl; this is not right, because Karikāl was far too generous a patron of poets to have deserved the rebuke. The only reason adduced by Kanakasabhai for the identification is that both monarchs had the title 'the great Śōla king.' Any Śōla may be called மாவளவன், this title being no proper name.

In Puṇam 45, when two Śōla brothers were fighting with each other, the elder was thus admonished by Kōvūr Kijār :—“(Your brother) is not the wearer of the white earring made of (the leaves of) the great palmyra tree (i. e., he is not a Śēran); nor is he the wearer of the garland (of the leaves) of the black-boughed neem tree (i. e., he is not a Pāṇḍiyan). Your garland is made of the Ātti; your foe's garland, too, is made of the Ātti. Hence if either of you is defeated, it is your house that suffers defeat. It is not possible that both of you can succeed. Hence your conduct is unworthy of your house. This quarrel will make other kings who, like you, possess chariots adorned with flags, swell with joy. Therefore it is proper that you cease this (war).”² Though these poems are interesting, they are

பாடலில் தொழுவும் பண்பி னாரே
கிசப்பே செவ்வ முறினு மெனைத்த
முணர்ச்சி யில்லோ ருடைமையுள்ளே
கவ்வறி வுடையோர் கங்குர
வுள்ளுதம் பெருமலா முகத்தானி பெரிதே.

Puṇ. 197.

- ² இரும்பின வெண்டோடு மலைந்தோ னவ்வன்
கருஞ்சினை வேம்பின் நெரியலோ னவ்வ
னின்ன கண்ணியு மாம்பிடைத் தன்றே, கிள்ளெனாடு
பொருவோன் கண்ணியு மாம்பிடைத் தன்றே

not of use as historical sources on account of the poverty of the information they give us.

Modern scholars in dealing with the poets who composed these odes have assumed that the identity of names, though unsupported by other evidence internal or external, proves the identity of individuals. This is an absurd assumption. For there are four individuals of the name of Nakkīranār, one, the author of several odes in the early anthologies and of Tirumurugārupadai and Nedunālvāḍai in the Ten Songs, two, author of a book of prosody, called Nālaḍi Nārpadu, three, the legendary first expounder of Agapporuḷ, and four, the author of certain Śaiva hymns of a later period, and Tamil scholars have amalgamated them into one human being. This procedure stands very much in the way of all research into the gradual evolution of Tamil poetry and gives a handle to those who hold that Tamil poetry arose only after Tamil bards learnt Sanskrit poetry, and try to prove their proposition by putting later poems before earlier ones, in violation of all internal and external evidence.

Unreliability of the Colophons to the Puram Odes :

When the four anthologies were made up in the V and VI centuries A. D., for each ode was noted the name of the tinaī (and perhaps turai) to which it belonged and the name of its author. That is how the Āgam, the

யொருவர் தோற்பினார் தோற்பதும் குடியே
யினார் வேற வியற்கையு மன்றே, அதனாற்
குடிப்பொரு ளன்றுவந்து செய்தி கொடித்தேர்
தும்மோ ளன்ன வேந்தர்க்கு
மெய்ப்புமலி புலனை செய்யுயிர் விகவே,

Pur. 45.

Narainai, and the Kurundogai have come down to us. But the *Puram* as we have it has besides, (1) colophons indicating the particular occasions when each of the first two hundred and sixty six odes were sung, (2) paraphrases of these two hundred and sixty-six odes and brief notes grammatical or interpretive. The colophons stop where the paraphrases stop and probably both were done by an editor of the age when commentaries were composed on old Tamil poems, i.e., probably between the XII and XVI centuries. The colophons, and not the commentaries, are resumed with the three hundred and fifty-ninth ode and are continued to the end.

Most Tamil scholars have displayed a superstitious reverence for these colophons. When they use the information given in them they say, 'it is mentioned in the *Puram*,' when they ought to say 'it is mentioned in the colophons to the *Puram* odes, or it is mentioned in the commentaries to the *Puram* odes'. It is high time that scholars gave up confounding the texts of poems with the commentaries of probably a thousand years later. Moreover it is too readily assumed that the editor of the *Puram* has recorded in every case the tradition remembered in his time. Even if all the information given by him is allowed to be traditional it ought to be taken *cum grano salis* : for tradition is known to grow like a snowball from age to age and to become charged with legends, especially of the marvellous variety.

The Occasional Unreliability of the Colophons :

It is evident that some of the colophons appended to the poems by the editor do not embody tradition, but contain guesses, sometimes wild. For example, *Puram*

76 and 77 are said to be eulogies of Neḍuñjeliyan, the victor of Talaiyālaṅgānam, sung by Iḍaikkunṇūr Kiḷār. Poṟam 76 runs thus:—"It is nothing novel that one man should kill another or that one should be defeated by another: this is natural in the world. But we have never heard before now, that the greatness and might of the Pāṇḍiyan, who wore the honey-dripping garland made by intertwining the bright leaves growing on the thick boughs of the big-trunked neem tree of the assembly-hall, with the long vine of the uliñai and wore the flower-garland also, who possessed the wealth of the beautiful land where the sweet-sounding, clear sound of the war-drum is heard, and wore jewels made of yellow gold, should not be realized by the seven (heroes), wearers of heroes' anklets, who joined together and proceeded against him, but were defeated and killed by him single-handed.⁵

ஒருவனை யொருவ னதெலுந் தொலைதலும்
புதுவ தன்றின் வுலகத் தியற்கை
யின்றி னூய்கோ கோலந் திரளரை
மன்ற வேம்பின் மாச்சினை யொண்டளிர்
செந்கொடி யுழினைஒப் பலகொடு மிகைடந்து
செறியத் தொடுத்த தேம்பாய் கண்ணி
யொலியன் மாலையொடு பொலியச் சூடிப்
பாடிண் றென்றினை கதஞ்சக் காண்டக
நாடுகெழு திருவிற் பசும்பூட் செழியன்
பீடுஞ் செம்மறு மறியார் கூடிப்
பொருது மென்று தன்றலை வந்த
புனைதழ் வெழுவர் கவகவ மடங்க
கொருதா னுதிப் பொருதுகனத் தடவே.

The next ode says, "who is this that stands here? From his legs the (boy's) tinkling anklets have (just) been removed and round it the hero's anklet has been put; from his head the (boy's) hair-tuft has been shaven and on it the garland made of tender margosa leaves and the ujñai creeper has been wound; from his hands the short bangles have been taken away and in them he holds the bow; and he stands so as to adorn the carved post of the chariot. Whoever he may be, may his garland not fade for a long time; though he wears a (warrior's) garland, he has not discarded the (boy's) gold necklet (with five pendants); to-day (for the first time) he gave up milk-food and ate rice. He neither respects nor disregards the new warriors who came one after another against him; nor even did he feel exultation or pride that he got tight hold of them and threw them against the broad sky, so that they fell face downwards on the ground and were killed."⁴ The writer of the

* இன்னிணி களைத்தகர லொண்கழ னெட்டுக்
குடுமி களைத்தததல் வேம்பி னெண்டளிர்
கெடுங்கொடி யுழினைப் பவரொடு மிலைத்
குறுந்தொடி கழித்ததைச் சரபம் பற்றி
கெடுத்தேர்க் கொடி னுடு பொலிய நின்றோன்
யார் சொல் வாழ்கவவன் கண்ணி தார்பூண்டு
தாலி களைத்தன்று மிலனை பாவ்விட்
டயினியு மின்றியின் தனனே வயின்வயி
னுடன்றமேல் வந்த அம்ப மன்னரை
வியத்தன்று மிழித்தன்று மிலனை யவரை
யழுத்தப் பற்றி யகவ்யகம் பார்ப்பெழத்
கவிழ்த்து மிலஞ் சேர வட்டரை
மவிழ்த்தன்று மவித்தன்று மதனினு மிலனை.

colophons says that both songs were sung by the same poet in eulogy of the same king. It is impossible to believe that the hero-victor of Talaiyālaṅgāram, known to the poet, and the boy-hero, unknown to the poet, were one and the same person. The only thing we may be sure of is that both belonged to the house of the Pāṇḍiyas. The colophon to Puṇam 77 is a guess and a bad guess at that.

Another poem, Puṇam 74, praises the fortitude of royal persons to this effect:—"Royal babes that die and even moles delivered from the wombs of queens, even though they are not men, are cut to pieces with swords (as a symbol of the duty of warriors to seek death in battle fields). When this is so, could any king beget a son who, when tied like a chained dog, would be so weak as to drink water charitably offered by his jailor, for allaying the fire in his stomach?"⁵ Now the editor says that when Irumborai was captured and imprisoned in the room near the West gate (of the palace), he begged for water, he did not get it, and when he got it later on, held it in his hand, composed this poem, and died without drinking it. This is not impossible, there is nothing incredible in the legend, but the text does not give any indications about the persons involved and there is nothing to disprove the view that

⁵ குழலி யிறப்பினு முன்றடி யிறப்பினு
மாளன் தென்று வரளித் தப்பார்
தொடர்ப்படு குழலியி னிடர்ப்படுத் திரீஇய
கேளல் கேளிர் வேளாண் னிறுபத
மதுவை யின்றி வயிறுறுத்தித் தனியத்
தாயிரத் தண்ணு மனவை
யின்ம ரோலிய் வுலகத் தானே.

the editor had heard of the legend and tacked it on to the poem. There are also doubts about the truth of the legend. There is an anthology of Tamil poems, with very brief comments on some, made before the XVI century and called by the curious name of 'Biography of Tamil Poets' (Tamiḷ Nāvalar Varalāṟu), which it is not. This ode occurs as Poem 158 in this collection and the note added says 'when Śēran Kaṇaikkāl Irumbarai was imprisoned by Śēnganān in a room at the East gate (of his palace), the Śēran composed this ode and sent it to Poygaiyār a poet-friend of his. When Poygaiyār heard this, he sang a poem (in praise of Śēnganān, called) Kaḷvali Nārpadu, and Śēnganān released the Śēran and gave him back his throne.'^a The fact that the two legends contradict each other shows that supposed traditions which Tamil scholars regard as sacrosanct are but brittle reeds to lean upon in historical investigation.

Other such poems there are, the subject-matter of which bears no relation to the story told in the colophon attached to them. I give one more example. Poṟam 47 says:—"Like birds seeking for a tree which bears fruit, bards go in search of liberal patrons; without minding the distance, they pass along difficult paths and with their untrained tongues sing as well as they can. With the reward obtained they feed their relatives, and without saving any thing, they consume it and give it away to others with a light heart. The life of these seekers after patronage is free from the blame of harming others. They defeat with their learning those that dispute with them and stand erect and

^a Tamiḷ Nāvalar Varalāṟu, p. 57.

behave pleasantly. Their life is as great as that which is led by you, who art famous and rule the land."¹ To this poem is attached the colophon that "when the poet Iḷandattan from Nalaṅgiḷi, the Śōḷa King, went to Uṟaiyūr, Neḍuṅgiḷi who died at the Kāriyāru thought he was a spy and wanted to kill him, but Kōvūrkiḷār sang this ode and saved him." Besides the objection that there is nothing in the poem remotely suggesting a spy, there is the further objection that Kōvūrkiḷār was a favourite of the enemies of Neḍuṅgiḷi i.e., Nalaṅgiḷi and Kiḷḷivalavan and therefore not likely to have any influence with Neḍuṅgiḷi.

The colophon to Puṟam 173 says that the ode was addressed by the Śōḷa king Kiḷḷivalavan who died at Kuḷamurram in honour of Paṇṇan of Śiṟuṅḍi. It says :— "May Paṇṇan live as long as I live! You bards, note the distress of the relatives of this man. We hear the noise of men feeding, as great as that of birds on a tree which has newly borne fruit. We see boys go in all directions along with their relatives with cooked food

1 வன்னியோர்ப் படர்ந்த புன்னிற் போகி
நெடிய வென் னுது சுரம்பல கடந்த
வடியா காவின் வல்லாகுப் பாடிப்
பெற்றது மகிழ்ந்த சுற்ற மருத்தி
யோம்பா துண்டு கூம்பாது விசி
வரிசைக்கு வருந்துகிப் பரிசில் வாழ்க்கை
பிறர்க்குத் திறநித் தன்னோ வின்றே, திறப்பட
கண்ணர் காண வண்ணந் தேதி
யாவ்வினி நொழுதி னல்ல நோங்குபுகழ்
மண்ணுள் செல்வ மெய்திய
தம்மோ ரன்ன செம்மறு முடைத்தே.

in their hands, as the small ants, when they know that the cloud which rains in the proper season is going to rain, take their eggs (in their mouths) and resort to high ground; but yet on account of the distress of hunger and of our travel from far places, we ask again and again, is the house of the curer of hunger near? or far? Tell us."* It is impossible to regard this ode but as the song of a hungry bard in search of a patron; yet it is attributed to a royal personage by the editor of *Puram*. Many more such colophons can easily be found in the anthology. I therefore think that the colophons to the poems cannot be accepted as all reliable. Yet most scholars have treated the information given in the colophons as gospel-truth and have constructed schemes of the contemporaneity of the authors and kings and even attempted to evolve genealogical lists of the kings referred to and the political history of the period. But no one such reconstruction agrees with another; and nine of the contradictory dynastic lists of

* யான்வாழு நானும் பண்ணன் வாழிய
பாணர் காண்டுவன் கலிம்பின நிநிம்பை
யாணர்ப் பழுமரம் புள்ளியிழைத் தன்ன
பூனொலி யாவத் தானும் கேட்கும்
பொய்யா வெழிவி பெய்விட கோக்கி
முட்டை கொண்டு வற்புலஞ் சேருஞ்
சிறிதுண் ணெறம்பின் சிவ்வொழைக் கேட்ப்பச்
சோறுடைக் கையர் விறுவீந் தியங்கு
யிருங்கிணைச் சிறுஅர்க் காண்டுப் பண்ணி
மற்று மற்றும் வினையுதல் தெற்றெனப்
பசிப்பினி மருத்துவ னில்ல
மணித்தோ சேய்த்தோ கூறுமி னெகக்கே.

the period constructed by Kanakasabhai and others from the information contained in these colophons can be regarded as in any way acceptable; all the more so because as a result of such reconstructions, an impossibly long list of kings and poets have been crushed into one short period, leaving a dark blank before and behind.

Moreover the evidence of these colophons, in defiance of the internal evidence of the poems themselves, has made these modern scholars assign all that remains of ancient Tamil literature, the waifs of different epochs, to one poor century or half-century. This reduces history to absurdity, for it leads to the impossible view that Tamil literature, without a previous history, in violation of the law of evolution, burst into a sudden blaze in one period and straightway the Tamil muse became dumb for several centuries. Along with others I have wasted several years in trying to extract reliable history from these colophons and have come to the conclusion that they are an inextricable tangle of fact and fiction, of tradition and guess, and therefore useless for the purpose of constructing genealogical lists of kings. At best a few notes on the life of a few kings can be recovered from these poems.

Nalañgilī :

After Karikāl's death the empire that he founded went to pieces. Rēnāḍu was ruled by Telugu princes who called themselves Cēḍas (the *ḍ* being the Telugu equivalent of the Tamil *ḷ*); during their rule Telugu gradually came to be a written language, being used in inscriptions and in a few centuries it became also a literary language. The Śēra and Pāṇḍiya kingdoms regained their independence, so much so that Nalañgilī,

possibly the immediate successor of Karikāl on the śōlja throne (though we have no evidence on the point), had to fight with them often to assert his superiority to them. Says the poet Kōvūr Kijjār—"As amongst the objects of human life wealth and pleasure come after dharma," so the two umbrellas (those of the Śērau and the Pāṇḍiyar) come after your single umbrella. Desiring that your fame should rise high like the white moon, you are spending all your time in military camps (and never in your city). Your elephants, the tips of whose tusks have been blunted by battering the fort-walls of your enemies, are having no rest. Your soldiers who wear the bracelets of heroes and are always eager for war, do not hesitate to march to the enemies' distant territories situated in the middle of the forests. Your horses first stay in the battle-fields where the war-festival is celebrated and go from the eastern ocean right round till the white waves of the western ocean wash their hoofs. The kings of the northern region are watching with sleepless eyes and are trembling with fear."¹⁰ Reading

⁹ This phrase shows that Aryan ideas were now rapidly gaining ground in Tamil India. Such a simile, involving the Aryan concept of the objects of life and comparing concrete objects with abstract ideas, cannot be discovered in Tamil literature before the time of Karikāl.

¹⁰ சிறப்புடை மரபிற் பெருகு மின்பறு
மறத்து வழிப் படுஉந் தேரத்தம் பேரல
விருகுடை பின்பட வேங்கிய வொருகுடை
புருசெழு மதியி னரிவந்துசேண் விளங்க
எல்லினை வேட்டம் வேண்டி வெல்போதல்
பாசனை யல்லது நீயெல் லாயே

between the lines, this means that Nalaṅgiḷi had to be fighting always in order not to lose his throne. This inference is supported by other poems which speak of civil war in the Śōla country. One Neduṅgiḷi was besieged by him in Uṟaiyūr.¹¹ Nalaṅgiḷi's capital was Kāviriṭṭūmpaṭṭinam¹² and Neduṅgiḷi apparently usurped the throne at Uṟaiyūr and brought the inland portion of the Śōla territory under his sway, and Nalaṅgiḷi fought with him to recover it.

The songs that praise Nalaṅgiḷi are more in number than the eulogies of many other Kings.

The troubled times in which he lived seem to have developed a melancholic attitude in the minds of his bards. In an ode by one of these occurs for the first time

நதிமுக மழுங்க மண்டி மொன்னூர்
கடிமதில் பாடிநின் கவிதடம் கலவே
போகெனீந் புகளும் புணைமுன் மறவர்
காடிடைந் திடைத்த காடுகனி தேவய
செய்யவே மல்லே மென்னூர் கல்லைன்
வீழவுடை யாங்கண் வெந்துப்புலத் திறத்துக்
குணகடல் பின்ன தாகக் குடகடல்
வெண்டலைப் புணநின் மான்குளம் பலைப்ப
வலமுறை வருதறு முண்டென் தவமந்து
செஞ்சுகநெய் சுவலம் பாயத்
துஞ்சா கண்ண வடபுலத் தாசே.

Pur. 31.

¹¹ Pur. 45, already quoted and translated.

¹² Pur. 30, ll. 10-14, which according to the colophon was sung in honour of Nalaṅgiḷi, quoted and translated already. I have used the information in the colophon, where it appears to be unquestionable.

in Tamil poetry, a pessimistic note conspicuous for its absence in earlier poems; for thus sang Mudu Kaṇṇanār of Uṇaiyūr to this king:—"Consider the kings who were born in excellent families and flourished one after another like rows of the flowers of the lotus which grows in mud and possesses a hundred bright petals. Of these but a few are famed in song; many have dropped like the lotus leaf (unknown). Those who have been sung by poets, they say, get into aerial chariots not driven by (the mortal hands of) pilots, they having performed good deeds, as I have heard. My sire, Sēṭcenni Nalaṅgillī, the moon-god shows even to the most ignorant that all things wane and wax, die and are reborn in this world over which he roams. Whoever comes to you, whether he be powerless or powerful, look at the distressed and help them. May your enemies be the ungracious wretches who never help others."¹

- 1 செற்றுயனர் தாமரை பயந்த வெண்கேழ்
நூற்றித முனி. னிசைகண் டன்ன
வேற்றுமை வில்லா விழுத்தினைப் பிறந்து
வீற்றிருத் தோரை வெண்ணும் காலை
புரையும் பாட்டு முடையோர் சிலரே
மரையிலு போலமாய்க் திடுஞோர் பலரே
புலவர் பாடும் புகழுடையோர் விகம்பின்
வலவ னேவா யான ஐர்தி
வெய்துப வென்பதஞ் செய்வீனை முடித்தெனக்
கேட்ப வெந்தை சேட்சென்னி கலங்கின்றி
தேய்த ஹண்மைபு பெருக ஹண்மைபு
மாய்த ஹண்மைபும் பிறத்த ஹண்மைபு
மறியா தோரையு மறியக் காட்டித்
திங்கட் புத்தே டிரிதரு முகசுத்த
வல்லா ராயினும் வல்லா ராயினும்

The Śōḷa who died at Kulamurram :

Another Śōḷa king, called Kiḷḷivaḷavan, has been sung in more poems and by more bards than any other Kiḷḷi and Vaḷavan, being both titles, meaning Śōḷa princes, this particular king was given after death the title, 'Kiḷḷivaḷavan, who died at Kulamurram.' According to the colophons he was the patron of ten poets, all of whom sung odes in his honour. These poets refer specially to his liberal patronage of poets. He seems to have quarrelled with a Śēra king, for his siege of Vañji, the Śēra capital, is sung by two poets. " You know best, whether slaying or abstaining from it will redound to your credit. Girls who wear anklets filled with pebbles and small bangles, made (by the goldsmith) with a long tool, are throwing up and catching little balls made of gold in the shape of the nuts of the (*Guilandina* *bonduce*) so that the white sands of cool Porunai river (which flows near Karūr) are scattered by their play. The trees of the defence forests (round Karūr) are being felled by means of axes with long poles and blades sharpened by the strong-armed blacksmith with files; the sound of the cutting of the trees and the falling of long branches and the smell of the scattered flowers, reach the (Śōḷa's) well-guarded palace surrounded by long walls; yet without shame the king remains (within the battlements). That you fought with such a king while your drum adorned

வருத்தி வந்தோர் மருங்கு லோக்கி

யருள் வல்ல யாகுமதி யருளில்

கொடமை வல்ல ஶாகு

கொடத துப்பினின் பகையெதிர்ந்தோரே.

with bow-like garlands was beaten, is likely to cause shame."¹⁴

A female bard of the name of Mārōkkattu Nappasalaiyar¹⁵ thus sings of the same hostilities between Killivalavan and his contemporary Śīran:—"You who are descended from him who entered (i.e., sat on) the scale of the steelyard made of (lit. turned from) the white ivory from the elephant which has feet like a (wooden) mortar, for the purpose of relieving the distress of a pigeon! To help the beggar is (so natural to you) that it need not be specially praised. If it is remembered that one of your ancestors destroyed the fort (of the Asuras) which was hanging from the sky and so strong that foes could not approach it, it is needless to praise your bravery in killing your enemies. As Justice is

14 அடுகை யாழினும் வீடுகை யாழினு
 நீயளம் தறிதின் புழைமை வாரீகோற்
 தெரியசிக் கிலம்பிற் குதந்தொடி மகனீர்
 பொலுஞ்செய்கழங்கிற் றெற்றியாதி
 தன்னுன் பொருளை யெண்மணற் கிதையக்
 ஒருகளைக் கொல்ல னாஞ்செ யய்வாய்
 செடுகதை அலியம் பாய்தலி னிலையழித்த
 வீசுமற் செடுஞ்சினை புளம்பக் காவுதொதல்
 அடிமரத் தடிபு மேகை தன்னுன்
 செடுமதில் வரைப்பிற் அடிமனை யியம்ப
 வரவ்வினி திருத்த மேர்தேனு வஞ்சுநீர்
 சிலைத்தார் முரசல் சுறங்க
 மலைத்தனை யென்பது காணுத்தக வுடைத்தே.

Pur. 36.

¹⁵ The name taken literally, means 'She of Marokkam (a village near Korkai) whose face was allow.'

seated in the sabhā of the valiant Śōlas in Uṇaiyūr, it is nothing specially praiseworthy that you should be just. Valāvan, whose strong shoulders, after fighting valiantly in the battle-field, have cut the defence-trees of the enemy, how can I sing the greatness of your powerful feet which have ruined fadeless Vāñji,¹⁰ after destroying the Śēran who is the lord of the bow, who has carved the bow, as a symbol of his might, on the Himalayas with the boundless peaks shedding gold, and who owns loftly chariots?¹¹ Uṇaiyūr was proverbially famous for

¹⁰ Vāñji being the name of a town as well as of a flower, is called 'fadeless', for the town does not fade, but the flower fades. Such puns are frequent in the old poems.

¹¹ புறவி னல்லல் சொலியக் கதையடி,
யானை வான்மருப் பெறிந்த வெண்கடைக்
கோளிறை தவையுக் புக்கோன் மருக
வீதனின் புகழு மன்றே சார்த
லொன்ற ருட்குத் துன்னருங் கடுத்திற்
றுங்கெயி லெறித்தகின் னூங்கனோர் திண்ப்பி
னடுதலின் புகழு மன்றே கெடுவின் து
மறங்கெழு சோழ ருதத்தை யவையத்
தறகின் து சிலையிற் றுகலி னதனான்
முறைமைகின் புகழு மன்றே மறயிக்
கெழுசமங் கடத்த வெழுயறற் தினரிதோட்
கண்ணர் கண்ணி சலிமான் வளவ
யாய் கன மொழிகோ யானே யோங்கிய
வரையனத் தறியாப் பொன்படு கொடுங்கோட்
டிமயங் குட்டிய வேற விற்பொறி
மாண்வினை கொடுத்தர் வானவன் னெலைய
வாடா வஞ்சி வாட்டுகின்
பிடுகெழு கோன்றான் பாடுங் காலே.

its hall of justice, probably from the time when Karikāl justly decided a difficult case when he was a boy, (Vide p. 339 supra); and Madura for her Tamil learning. Pur. 58 speaks of *அறத்துஞ் சுறக்கை*, 'Uraiyūr where justice stays always' (l. 9) and *தமிழ்க்கெழு கூடல்*, 'Madura to which Tamil belongs (l. 13.)'

It will be noticed that in the last ode appear for the first time two legends about the ancestry of the Śōlas. One of legends is that certain Auras lived in a castle hanging from the sky and from there oppressed the Devas and an ancient Śōla king destroyed the castles and thus relieved the distress of the poor Devas; such stories, not only about the Śōlas but also about the Pāṇḍiyas, were invented in this age and helped on the movement of the Aryanization of the Tamil mind. The other legend is that Śivi was one of the ancestors of of the Śōlas. The story of Śivi cutting off a piece of flesh from his thigh and offering it to a kite that pursued a pigeon, because the latter begged Śivi to save it, is well-known. This attribution of descent from Śivi to Śōla princes occurs also in Puram 37,¹⁸ also by

¹⁸ 'Son of the Śōlan who had an army of fierce warriors armed with white spears and who cured the distress of the bird.'

புள்ளுறு புன்கண் உர்த்த வென்வேற்
 சினக்கெழு தாணைச் செம்பியன் மருக.

Pur. 37 ll. 5-6,

It will be remembered that in the Perumbāṇḍīrupadai, the Śōlan is called but the descendant of Viṣṇu. Vide p. 399. supra.

Nappaśalaiyār, and in Puṇam 46,¹⁹ by Kōvur Kijār. It occurs also in Puṇam 43,²⁰ addressed to the younger brother of one Tiruviṇṇar Venkilli the fortunate chariot-warrior, (said to be Nalaṅgiḷi). In later times the Śōlas were said to belong to the solar dynasty, for which I have not been able to find a reference in the Puṇam; but if they were descended from Śīvi, they ought to have belonged to the Lunar dynasty, for Śīvi, son of Usinara was descended from Yayāti of the Lunar dynasty. Even Kamban, the most admired Tamil epic poet, did not see this difficulty for he boldly makes Śīvi an ancestor of Rāma of the Solar dynasty. The Padma Purāṇa derives all the three Tamil royal lines from Turvasu of the Lunar dynasty.²¹ Evidently the people who invented an Aryan status for Tamil princes had

¹⁹ 'Son of him who relieved the trouble of the pigeon.' புறவி னல்லல்.....விடுத்தோன் மருகன்.

Puṇ. 46 ll. 1-2.

²⁰ 'Descendant of the hero, who was so magnanimous as not to hesitate to enter the scales, without fearing death himself, but afraid of the destruction of the short-gaited pigeon which had sought refuge with him from being hit by the kite which has bent feathers and sharp claws.'

கொடுஞ் சிறைத்

கருகிற் பருதி னேற குறித்தோர் இத்

தன்னகம் புக்க குறாடைப் புறவின்

றபுதி யஞ்சிச் சீரை புக்க

வரைவா வீகை யரவோன் மருக.

Puṇ. 43 ll. 4-8.

²¹ Pad. Pur. VI. 250, 1-2, referred to by Pargiter *Anc. Ind. Hist. Trad.* p. 108.

but a dim knowledge of the Puranas. The poetess boldly makes Śivi a Śembiyan, i.e., Śōja prince.

Kiḷivaiḷavan seems to have been as generous a patron of letters as Karikāl himself. His eulogist sings, "You, beggar, who with ceaseless question and elderly mouth tell me, 'Stay here for some time, hard with a small yāi, furnished with strings (which utter music) sweet as honey and whose drum (uḍukkal) with clear eyes, tied to a stick and looking like the tank-tortoise stuck on a skewer, sounds sweetly', listen to me. Know that Kiḷivaiḷavan is lord of a fertile country where but the fire of cooking and not the fire of the foe is known and which yields food and water which, like the cool tank in the mouth of Tai is not exhausted by people taking water from it."²² In this poem the last simile has to be specially noted. This is, so far as I have been able to find, the earliest indication that the Aryan classification of months and their Sanskrit names had been accepted by the Tamils. In Naṭṭinai, there is a reference to girls 'bathing in the

22 தேவக் தீர்தொடைச் செரியாழ்ப் பாண
சுயத்துவாழ் மாமை காழ்க்கோத் தள்ள
ருண்கோற் றதைத்த தெண்கண் பாக்வினை
யினிய காண்குவட்ட னங்கெனக் கூறி
யினவ வாளு முதுவா விரவவ
தைஇக் திங்கட் டண்கயம் போவக்
கொளக் கொளக்குரைபடாக் கழுடை வியனகர்
சுடுதி யல்வது சுடுதி யறியா
திருமருந்து விரைக்கு சன்னாட்டுப் பொருளன்
கின்னி யனவ னன்வினை யுள்ளி.

cool tank in the month of Tai',²³ perhaps as a religious duty. The Kuṇḍogai speaks of "the clear water of the spring being as cool as that in the month of Tai."²⁴ Poems where this phrase occurs cannot belong to an earlier age than the V cent. A. D. Puṇam 229, ll-1-12, probably one of the latest in that anthology sings about the Sēran, Yānaikkaṭṭey Māndarañjēral Irumbarai, gives the position of some planets and stars on the day when a meteor fell. The information is not clear and full enough to enable us to find out when the phenomenon took place; but it could not have been before the end of the V century A. D. seeing that the king was one of the latest of the period we are considering.

A curious custom among princes is mentioned in one of the eulogies of Kiḷḷivaḷavan. Ancient Tamil princes, when they defeated their rivals, captured among other booty their crowns and made anklets for their own legs from the gold of their foe's crowns. This was the Tamil ideal of royal glorification and of the degradation of enemies. Thus sings the bard:—
"Your heroism is so great that you have destroyed the forts which were defended by your enemies; you have killed them, and with the gold of their royal

²³ ஸதஇத் திங்கட் டண்சயம் படிபும்.

Nag, Ib. 80, l. 7.

²⁴ கனைத் தெண்ணீர்

ஸதஇத் திங்கட் டண்ணிய.

Ib. 194, ll. 3-4.

crowns made anklets of heroism which shine on your feet." 25

A more savage punishment of the enemy meted out by the Śōjan was "the razing to the ground his fortifications and the burning in the day-time of the town belonging to the Śēran."²⁶ Apparently war was no more a game as in the earlier days, but had degenerated into savagery. Irumbeṇai, lord of Tondi, another late Śēra chief, defeated one Mūvan, plucked his strong teeth, sharp like thorn, and fixed them on the door of his fort.²⁷

Among the poets that sang odes in honour of Kiḷiṇṇavan were two, Kōvūr Kiḷār and Ālattūr Kiḷār,²⁸

25 கீயே பிறசேகம் புத்த மறமன்னெயி
லோம்பாது கடத்தட் டவர் முடி புனைத்த
பசும் பொன்னி னடி பொலிய
சமுறை இய வல்லானனை
வயவேத்தே.

Por. 40 I. 1-5.

26 குடிலை
னகப்பா வழிய னாறிச் செம்பியன்
பகற்றீ வேட்டாளுட்பின்.²⁶

Nar. 14, II. 3-5.

27 முயன்
முழுவலி முன்னெயி நழுத்திய கதலிற்
கரணைக் தொண்டிப் பொருகன்.

Nar. 18, M. 2-4.

²⁸ Kiḷār means 'one that owns or one that belongs to.' Hence when we find poets named Ālattūr Kiḷār or Kōvūr Kiḷār, etc., we have to interpret the words as 'the bard of Ālattūr,' 'the bard of Kōvūr, etc. Many poets whose poems were included in these anthologies had similar village names, but no personal names.

who have also eulogized Nalaṅgilli. Therefore these two Śōlas were near kinsmen, probably brothers, who ruled either one after the other or both at the same time in different places. But there is no information about their relationship in the poems themselves.

The Śilappadigāram refers to a Valavan Killi who was brother-in-law of Śēṅguttuvan, the Śēra king, and says that the latter defeated in one day nine Śōla princes who were the enemies of Valavan Killi.²² This Valavan Killi has been identified with this Killi Valavan by certain modern scholars; but seeing that, as the

Personal names seem to have scarcely existed before the custom prevailed in the VI century of giving the names of Aryan gods to men; whatever names were used before that time were nicknames like 'the black-naped' Irumbidartpalangār, village-names, like 'he of Māṅguḍi, Māṅguḍikiḷār, caste-names preceded by an adjective, like Iṇaṇḍaganār. This was true even of kings. Even to-day, though people have proper names in villages, the old fashion of nicknames is almost universal.

²² ஆர்புகை தெரிய லொன்பது மன்னரை

நேரிவாயில் நிலைச் செரு வென்று.

Śil. xxviii. ll. 116-7.

'Having in the battle of Nērivāyil defeated nine princes who wore the garland of Ātti flowers.'

மைத்துன வனவன் கிள்ளியொடு பொருந்தா

ஒத்த பண்பின சொன்பது மன்னர்

இனவரசு பொருதுர் எவல் கேளார்

வனநா டழிக்கும் பண்பின ராதலின்

ஒன்பது குடையு மொருபக மொழித்தவன்.

Ib. ll. 118-122.

odes quoted above prove, Kili Vaḷavan was a great warrior and such an enemy of the Śēraṇ as to burn his city in the course of one day, we cannot believe that he sought or obtained the assistance of Śēraṇ Sēnguttuvan. Kili and Vaḷavan, merely mean 'Śōla King,' and can apply to any monarch of the Śōla country. Hence the particular Śōlaṇ we are dealing with was called 'the Kili Vaḷavan who died at Kuḷamurraṃ.'

The person who secured Sēnguttuvan's help was an heir apparent, and not a reigning sovereign. Hence it is wrong to identify this Śōlaṇ with Neḍumudikkili, as Krishnaswami Iyengar has done, for Neḍumudikkili was not an ilavarāṣu (heir-apparent).²⁰

(Sēnguttuvan), who destroyed in the course of one day, the nine umbrellas of the nine confederate princes who did not agree with his brother-in-law Vaḷvan Kili and would not accept his heir-apparentship.'

²⁰ Manimekkalai in its Historical setting, p. 35, where the author calls Neḍumudikkili Sēnguttuvan's "obola contemporay." This is in contradiction to the statement of the Uraiperukatturai, 4, (prologue-epitome of the epic) of Śilappadigāram that Sēnguttuvan's contemporary was Śōlaṇ Poruṅgili and the statement of the commentator, Adiyārkkunallār, in his comments on this passage of Uraiperukatturai, that he was Perunarkillai (was he the one who performed the Rājasūya?). Krishnaswami Iyengar apparently prefers his theory of the contemporaneity of the Śilappadigāram and the Maṇimēgalai, to the express statements of the prologue and the commentator, notwithstanding his respect from tradition.

Kanakasabhai makes a worse mistake, when he says that this Kilivaḷavan was the father of the Śōḷa prince Udayakumāra, who was smitten with Maṇimēgalai's charms and lost his life on that account.²¹ The Maṇimēgalai is a pure romance and worthless as a source of history. In that poem a certain Puṇṇiyarāṣan of Nāgapuram says that once he sailed to Kāvīrippattinam for securing the friendship of Kilivaḷavan and there heard that there was in the whole world (nēvalandivil) none comparable to Maṇimēgalai.²² Kanakasabhai, from this passage, inferred that the Kilivaḷavan we are discussing was the King of Puḡār during Maṇimēgalai's life. But Kilī and Vaḷavan are not names, meaning merely 'Śōḷa prince,' and the Kilī Vaḷavan of this passage has nothing to do with the one eulogized in the Puram odes, this latter being Lord of Uṇaiyūr and not Puḡār.

It is to be expected that more and more Aryan ideas entered into the poems of the Tamil bards now. *Ālattūr Kilār* speaks of the special sin of harming Brāhmaṇas,²³ and refers to the ordinances of the Dharma Śāstra.²⁴

²¹ *Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, p. 77.

²² காவலன் தீவிலின் அங்கையைய யொப்பார்
யாவரு மில்லை யிலமுத மெல்லாங்
கின்பரி வளவனொடு கெழுதகை வேண்டிக்
கன்னயிற் தாரோய் கலத்தொடும் போகிக்
காவிரிப் படப்பை அன்னகற் புக்கேன்.

Maṇ. xxv. ll. 12 16.

²³ பார்ப்பார் தப்பிய கொடுமை. Puṇ. 34. l. 3.

²⁴ அறம் பாடித்தே. Ib. l. 7

Notwithstanding the spread of the Aryan ideas in this Killivalavan's time, he was himself not cremated but buried. His death was mourned by three poets of whom the last addresses the potter who was to make the urn in which the monarch was to be interred and tells him that to make a big urn fit for such a monarch, the earth (or the horizon) ought to be the wheel and the great mountain (interpreted as Mēru by the commentator), the clay.³⁵

Perunaṟkiḷḷi :

The last celebrated king of this early Śōla dynasty about whom the Puṟam gives us information was called Perunaṟkiḷḷi. He had to defeat recalcitrant Śōla princes, before bringing the whole of the Sola country under his sway. One such war is alluded in the following :—
 “ King, whose ire resembled that of Murgan! you possess horses which run fast so that they can serve in wars and a shield (made of hide) of the colour of the cloud; you proceeded (against your foes) and shattered the front (of their armies). You plundered their rice-fields, you used the timber of their houses as firewood; washed your elephants in the moats round their forts; the light of the fire in which their land burned shone red like the shining sun. Your army limitlessly spread on their land. You achieved victory without the help of the armies of allies. Your sword stinks of flesh. The sandal-paste you have painted (on your breast) is

³⁵ அன்றோற் கவிக்குத் கண்ணகின் குழி
 வளைதில் வேட்டளை யாபி யெனையதூஉ
 யிருதிலந் திதிரியப் பெருமலை
 மண்ணு வளைத லொவ்றுமோ சினக்கே.

dried up. You have burnt down the wall-guarded valley where grow the intertwining convolvulus (vallai), the blown lily, the cool paganrai (Menispermum Cardifolium), the jack tree full of fruits and where the only jungle is that of the sugarcane; and your elephants are well-trained for fighting."¹⁶

He then performed the Rājāsūya sacrifice and underwent coronation in the Aryan style. For this reason he was called Irāsāsūyam Vēṭṭa Peru Nēṭ Killi, and was, along with Karikāl, remembered as a remote ancestor

16 வினைமாட்சிய விரைபுரவியோடு.
மறைபுருவின தேர்ப்பாப்பி
முனைமுருங்கத் தலைச்செந்தவர்
விரைவயல் சவர்பூட்டி
மனைமரம் விதகாகத்
கடத்துதரீர்ச் சுளிப்பமடு
யெல்லுப்பட விட்ட தடுதலினக்கரு
செங்கடர் குசியிற்றுச் செக்கலின் குருன்றப்
புலங்கெட விதக்கும் வரம்பி குனைத்
துணைவேண்டாச் செருவென்றிப்
புலவுவாட் புலர்சாத்தின்
முருகற் சிற்றத் தருசெழு குரிசின்
மயங்குமன்னை மலராம்பந்
பளிப்பகன்றை களிப்பாகற்
கரும்பவ்வுறு கரடநியாப்
பெருத்தண்பனை பாழாக
கேம ஈன்றா டொன்னெரி பூட்டினை
காம வல்லவர் செய்ய
கோராங்கு மனைதன பெருமரின் களிதே.

of the later Śōlas, those of Tanjore.³⁷ Apparently Peru Nar Killi was the only early Śōla who celebrated the Rājasūya; hence he had the performance of it as his distinctive mark. This celebration also shows us that in his time the Aryanization in culture of the people of the Tamil land was fairly well advanced. This is further proved by the fact that in one of the odes in his praise, he is lauded for "pouring fully into the wet hands of begging Brāhmanas flower and gold along with water."³⁸ Another simile derived from Aryan institutions is found in the same poem, where three kings are addressed by the poet:—"You, Kings, who possess the white umbrella of royalty and the chariot on which the flag waves, are seated together so that you look like the triple fire of the twice-born."³⁹ The three kings here referred to, as we learn from the colophon, were the Śēran Māriven⁴⁰, the Pāṇḍiyan Ukkirapperuvēludi and Peru Nar Killi, all three being the latest kings of the early Tamil dynasties and not very far from the age when the Puṇam four hundred was collected into an anthology. There seems to have occurred a political revolution after the age of these three kings which will be described in a later chapter.

³⁷ Vide the Leyden grant and Tiruvālmōḍu Inscription, also S. I. I, Vol. II part iii. These later inscriptions, however, confuse the order of sequence of these two early Śōlas.

³⁸ எற்ற பார்ப்பார்க்கீர்ந்தை நிறையப்

பூவும் பொன்னும் புனல்படச் சொரிந்த

Pur. 367-II. 4-5.

³⁹ முத்தி புனைய காண்டக விருத்த

கொற்ற வெண்குடைக் கொடித்தேர் வேந்தர்,

Ib, II, 13-14.

Besides the above kings, a dozen other Śōlas are assigned poems by the writer of the colophon. These could not all have ruled over the Śōla country. As we hear that on one occasion nine Śōlas joined together to fight with a tenth, we have to infer that princes of the Śōla dynasty who never ascended a throne, are referred to in the colophons.



CHAPTER XXIII

PANDIYA KINGS.

Mudu Kuḍumi Peru Valudi :

The first Pāṇḍya King of whom we get information from these odes is Mudu Kuḍumi. He became famous for patronizing Yajñas celebrated by Brāhmana sacrificers and so became famous as Palyāgaśālai, (the builder or patron of) many sacrificial halls. It need not be taken to mean 'the man that offered many vedic sacrifices' for to offer a vedic sacrifice, a king should first be affiliated to some Kṣātriya gotra and there is no evidence that the early Pāṇḍyas were thus fully and formally taken into the Aryan fold, and assigned a gotra. In ruṇam 15, it is said "many are the broad sacrificial halls where were performed great sacrifices in which famous fire-offerings and gbi were burnt in the fire for a long time in accordance with (the prescriptions of) the faultless book of the four Vedas and where sacrificial posts were planted."¹ In the Vēlvikkūḍi grant² one yāga patronized by this Pāṇḍya king is referred to. This grant was issued probably in the third quarter of the

¹ புறநாற்
னற்புறநாற் கொடுத்த
தருஞ்சித்திப் பெருங்கண்ணுறை
செய்யமலி யாவது பொங்கப் பன்மான்
வீயசச் செப்பின் வேள்விமுற்றி,
புறநாட் வீயன் கனம்

Pur. 15 ff. 16-21.

² Ep. Ind. XVII pp. 291 ff.

VIII century A.D., for the purpose of restoring a property given by Palyāga Mudukudumi and resumed by a Kaṣabhra king. The circumstances under which the gift was first made are thus narrated in the gift-deed of the VIII century:—³ 'Naṣkoraṇ of Kaṣkai, who never deviated from the path of Śruti as taught by the learned vedic scholars (who lived) in the well-watered land, full of rice-fields, called Pāganūr-kūṟam, where beetles drone on the cool buds in the groves of flowering Nāga and Mango trees, started a yāga. For helping (him) to complete it, by the Pāṇḍyādhi-Rāja⁴ Palyāga Mudukudumi Peruvaḷudi⁵ who led many murderous elephants and dispersed the hosts of enemy-kings, it was said [to Naṣkoraṇ], 'Ask (for help) in the presence of Brāhmaṇas well-versed in the veda.' The king who wore garlands, stood in front of the sacrificial hall, and called the town by the name of Vāḷvikudi and caused it to grow in prosperity and beauty; at that very moment he gifted it with libations of water and it was enjoyed for a long time. Afterwards a cruel King called

³ The translation of the grant given in the *Epigraphia Indica* is very faulty. So I give my own translation.

⁴ The title Adhiraja was assumed by Pāṇḍiya and other Tamil Kings after the completion of the Ariyanization of the Tamil country, after the close of the VI century. It is here given by the author of the inscription to the early Pāṇḍiya King, though the latter never used it himself.

⁵ The word *śālai* has dropped out of the title of this King during the lapse of centuries.

Kalabhran drove away innumerable ādirājas* and took possession of the earth. He resumed the gift."¹

Mudukudumi did not issue a copperplate grant along with his gift; for the engraving of gift-deeds on stone or copper was commenced not earlier than the VII century A. D. i.e., sometime after the Tamil country came completely under the influence of Aryan culture, and gifts to temples and to Brāhmanas became a regular institution. That is why no inscriptions are forthcoming to throw light on the history of the Tamil country up to 600 A. D. The circumstances under which Neduñjadaiyan regifted the village to a descendant

* Probably 'original monarchs', descendants of those that had ruled the country for a long time before Kalabhran defeated them.

1 கொல் யாணை பண்டேசுட்டிக் கூடாமன்னந்

குழைந்தயிர்ந்து

பல்யாக முதுகுடுசிப் பெருவழுதி என்னும்

பாண்டியாதிபாஜ

ஞாமா மலர்ச்சேரலை நகரின்னெலிதக வண்டவையும்

பாடினார் க் கூற்றமென்றும் பழனக்கடத்தை நீராட்டி

சொற்கண்ணாள் கொலப்பட்ட சூதிமார்த்தம்

பிழையாத

கொற்ககிழை அகொருகை கொண்டவேள்வி முத்துவிக்கை

கேள்வியந்தனாள் முன்பு கேட்க என்றெடுத்தனாந்த

வேள்விகாலை முன்புலின்று வேள்விசூழ என்றபழைய

சீரோடு திருவாரைச் செய்தார் வேக்தனப்பொழுதேய்

சீரோட்டிக் கொடுத்தமையா வீடுபுத்தி துய்த்தயின்

னாவரிய ஆகிராஜரை பகலீக்கி யகவிடத்தைக்

கனப்பனென்னும் கவிதரசன் கைக்கொண்டதனை

இறக்கியபின்.

of Narkorran, called Kūmakkāni Narkorran, this time accompanied not only with evanescent libations of water but an imperishable gift-deed engraved on copper plate were as follows:—"When the third year of his (i.e., Neduñjadaiyan's) reign was current, on one day, at Madura which possesses mansions and high ramparts, (some men) stood loudly complaining. The King invited them to his presence and was pleased to ask them 'what is your complaint?' They said, 'Oh, mighty lord of a powerful army, formerly, without swerving from the pure path, (the village) called Velvikkudi included in Pūganūkkūram whose flowery groves touched the sky, was so named by your ancestor and granted on request by Palyāga Mudu Kudumiperuvajudi, the Lord who protected the sea-girt (earth) with his invincible spearman, and was resumed by the Kaḷabhras, who formed an ocean-like army.' The king gently smiled and said, 'Well, establish your ancient title before the public and get back the grant'. The complainant established his ancient title before the public. Thereupon the powerful King of long arms, with bow (in hand), was pleased to declare, 'what was granted by my ancestors according to rule is also granted by us.' So saying he who had many chariots and an ocean-like army gave it with libations of water."¹⁸

¹⁸ மந்தவன்தன் ஈஜ்யவதஸாம் முன்னுவது செலாதிந்ப
ஆங்கொரு கன்

கூடமெதிற் கூடற்பாடு நிற்றவர் ஆரோதிக்கக்
கொற்றவனே மந்தவரைத் தெற்றென என்னுகுவி
என்னேய் வங்குறை என்று முன்னாக பணித்தருள
மேளுணர்ந் குரவரைத் பன்னுறையின் வழுவாமை
மாகத்தோய் மகர்த்தோலைப்பாகணுர்க்குந்நப்
படுத்துவது

It may be remarked in passing that Mudukudumi could not have lived much more than three centuries before Nedunjadaiyan, because he decided the question of the regnant on the oral testimony of his contemporaries.

In another Puram ode, the poet calls upon Mudukudumi to bow to Brāhmanas, knowers of the Vedas, who have lifted their hands to bless him with long life.² He also says that "the king's umbrella is

ஆன்வதனை யடல்வேந்தே வேன்விருடியெனும்
பெயருடைவது
ஒங்காத வேற்றனை யோடாத வேலியடன் காத
பய்யாக முதுகுமெய்ப் பெருகமுதியெனும் பருமேகாத
வேன்விருடி எனப்பட்டது கேள்விவித்தரப்
பட்டதனைத்
துணக்கியவாக் கடற்றனையையகாப்பாரா நிற்கயட்
என்று நின்றவன் விஞ்ஞாப்யஞ் செய்ய [உது
என்றுகள் தென்று முதுவலித்து
காட்டாளின் பழமையாதல்
காட்டி நீ (கொள்கவென்) ன
காட்டாற்றன் பழமையாதல்
காட்டினான் கப்பொழுதேய்
காட்ட, மேளுனெய் குரவராற் பன்முறை
விற்ப்பட்டதனை
எம்மாறுந் தரப்பட்டதென்று
செம்மாத்தவ னெடுத்தருளி
விறைகத் தடக்கை விறல் வேந்தன்
கொற்கைகிழான் காமக்காணி கற்குங்கர்க்குக்
தேரொடுங் கடற்றனைய னீரோட்டிக் (கொ)
தெத்தமயின்.

² இறைஞ்சுகப் பெருமலின் சென்னி நிறத்த
என்மறை முனிவ ரோத்து வகிந்திரே.

lowered only when circumambulating the temple of the three eyed god."¹⁰ This is the earliest mention of the three-eyed god in Tamil literature, so far as I know.¹¹ This king's "fame is described as unceasingly terrifying (the denizens of) the triple world from below the earth which rests high on the waters (of the sea) to above the Goloka."¹² All these are Aryan ideas. Their occurrence in this ode shows that since Karikāl's time the flood of Aryan culture was flowing very fast into the minds of the Tamils. Moreover, for the first time in Tamil literature appears in this ode, the concept of India forming one country with the Himalayas in the north, Comorin in the south and the two seas on the east and the west. The passage says that the fame of Mudukudumi spread to the north of (i. e., beyond) the high snowy mount in the North, to the south of the terrible Comorin in the south, to the east of the sea which was dug (by the Sagaras) and which beats on the east coast, and to the west of the old sea on the west."¹³

¹⁰ பணியிய ரத்ததலின் குடையே முனிவர்
முக்கட் செங்குர் கார்வலஞ் செயற்கே.

Pur. 6 ll. 17-18.

¹¹ The next is found in Agam, 181, by Paravar, one of the latest of the early poets. "கான்மறை முதலால் முக்கட் செங்குன்." l. 15.

¹² முப்புணர தீங்கிய முறை முதற்கட்டி
வீர்திலை வியப்பின் கீழ் மேல
தானிலை பவகத் தானு மாறு
அருவும் புழி.

Pur. 6 ll. 5-8.

¹³ வடா அத பணிபடு செங்குணர வடக்குர்
தெனாது தருகெழு குமரியின் நெற்குர்
குணாதிது கரைபொரு தொடுகடற் குணக்குங்
குடாஅது தொன்றுமுதிர் பொலவத்தின் குடக்குங்

Th II 1-4

Besides his activities in patronizing the vedic cult Mudukudumi seems to have taken part in wars with rival chiefs. It is not claimed that he fought with any particular Śōla or Śēra king. Possibly he defeated some petty chiefs: the poet says "you yoked rows of white-mouthed asses and ploughed the streets which had been indented by the fast-running chariots (of foes) and destroyed their broad forts. You drove your chariots through their territories; across their well known fertile fields where birds were chirping, jumped the hoofs of your noble horses whose manes were waving. In the well-guarded tanks of your foes were bathed your elephants which are moving this side and that side, have large necks, broad feet, angry eyes and bright tusks."¹⁴ In the absence of the mention of any

There are two other references to this idea in the Pāṇam. The first belongs to the time of Neduñjeliyan, victor of Talaiyālaṅṅānam, தென்முரசு வடபெருங்கல், 'Comorin to the south and the big mountain to the north,' Pāṇ. 17, 1, 1. The second refers to Peruṅṅōkkilli, Kōpperuñjolan, a very late king, probably of the VI century. A swan is described as eating the ayirai-fish near the great port of Cape Comorin and going to the Northern mountain, taking the fair Śōla country between them on the way.

குமரியம் பெருந்துறை யவிரை மாத்தி
வடமலைப் பெயர்குடை யாவி னிடைபது
சோழ னன்னுட்புப் பாடின.

Pāṇ. 67, II, 6-8.

- ¹⁴ கந்தைத் குழித்த குஞ்சு லாங்கண்
வெள்வாய்க் கழுதைப் புல்லினம் பூட்டப்
பாழ்செய் தனைவரை கண்டலை கடலெய்க்
புல்லின மிமிரும் புழ்ச்சால் விளைவயல்

definite battle that he won, the above has to be taken as a general praise of the king and no more.

The Victor of Talaiyāṅgānam:

After this king died, ruled Neduñjeṭṭiyan who won the battle of Talaiyāṅgānam. He is also the hero of the longest of the Ten Songs, viz., Maduraikkāṇṇi, and perhaps of a shorter piece in that anthology, Nedu-nalvāṇṇai, besides being referred to in ten Puṇam odes, nine Agam odes, and a few more minor ones. The reason why so many poems about him are available is probably that he was the greatest Pāṇḍiya king of this age. He ascended the throne of the Pāṇḍiyas when he was young and the contemporary Śōḷa and Śōra kings (their names are not traceable) proceeded against him. They thought "we are famous we are great; our enemy is a young man; the spoils of victory will be immense."¹⁵ Neduñjeṭṭiyan turned the invaders from Madura. As the poet says, "Śōḷiyan, the valiant fighter, whose elephant wore garlands of flowers and was besmeared with black pigment (on the forehead) attacked, in the battle-field near Madura, where festivals never

வெள்ளுளைக் கலிமரன் கவிஞனம் புனைத்
தேர்வழிக் கிளைநின் தெய்வத் தேர்த்துத்
துளங்கியவரத் பணையெருத்தித்
பாயடியரத் செறவேருக்கி
ஞெளிறு மறுப்பிற் களிதவர
காப்புடைய கயம்படிவினை.

Puṇ. 15, ll. 1-10.

¹⁵ விழுமியம் பெரியம் யாதே கம்பிற்
பொருளு டிளை யன் செண்டியும் பெரிது.

Puṇ. 78, ll. 5-6.

cease, and confounded the ocean-like army of the two great monarchs who jointly proceeded against him; their loud drums were lost and they were scattered in the four directions and they ran away, showing their backs."¹⁶

This is not a contemporary poem but one composed after Neduñjeliyan's time by Parāṇar who treats it as a remembered event and says that the noise of the Pāṇḍiya's battle was surpassed by the uproar created by the fact that an errant husband played in the *fresches* with a harlot.

This battle is described more vividly in a Purāṇa ode. 'As if in the sky where stars shine bright the never-failing, terrible sun which moves dispelling the widespread darkness and possesses fierce heat, along with the shining moon entered together the same region, so the two monarchs who were very powerful in fight and had taken the vow (to defeat the Pāṇḍiya) entered the battle-field. You, Śeḷiya, attacked them wonderfully there so as to confound them and captured their well-bound drums. You defeated the warriors surrounding you and your spear escaped destruction. Then bright-faced women beat their breasts adorned by mammae till they tingled, cried along ceaselessly, till they lost their senses, when they saw the drums which

¹⁶ மலந்தார்

கையணி யானை மதப்போர்ச் செழியன்
பொய்யா விழவிற் கூடற் பறத்தலை
யுடனியைத் தெழுத்த விருபெரு வேந்தர்
கடன்மருள் பெருமபடை கலங்கத் தாங்கி
யிரங்கை முரசு மொழியப் பார்த்தவ
கோடுபுறம் கண்ட.

widowed them, so that their fair black locks which were like rows of black sand had to be cut.¹⁷ After the battle, the victor pursued his enemies, who secured the help of five minor chiefs and stood at bay in the field of Talaiyālaṅgānam. The Pāṇḍiya defeated his seven enemies. The name of the five chiefs who were defeated in this battle along with the Śēran and the Śōlan are given in Agam 36, an ode composed after the event. It says "Śēliyan, whose beflagged chariot was drawn by horses with trimmed manes, you reddened the wide field of Ālaṅgānam and destroyed the great might of the seven, namely, the Śēra, the Śembiyan (i.e., Śōlan), the fierce Tidiyan, Eḷini who wore gold ornaments and possessed elephants trained to combat, the chief of Erumaiyūr where toddy is filtered by means of the web at the bottom of the palmyra leaf, Irūṅṅōvēl on whose breast

17. பின்னிகழ் கிசம்பிற் பாயிரு னகல
வீண்டுசெவண் மகபிற் தன்னியல் யமுத
தூவக்சினக் திருவிய வறகெழு ஞாயிற
நிலவுத்திகழ் மதியமொடு நிலச்சேர் தாஅங்
குடவரும் துப்பி னொன்றமொழி தேவந்தை
பாணங்கரும் பதத்தலை யுணங்கப் பண்ணிப்
பினியுறு முரசுக் கொண்ட காலை
நிலைதிரி பெறியத் திண்மடை கலங்கி
நிலைதலையத் தன்றோ கின்றேந் செழிய
முலைபொன் யாக முருப்ப துறி
மெய்மறத்த பட்ட வரைபாப் பூச
வொண்ணாதன் மகளிர் கைம்மை கூ
வயிரதல் கிடுக்கு மடிமென்
ருவையிருங் கூந்தல் கொய்தல் கண்டே.

there is the dried up sandal paste emitting pleasant smell, and Porunan who rode in chariots."¹⁸ He came thenceafter, to be known as 'Nēḍuñjeliyan who won the battle of Tiruvāṇḍānam'. The battle seems to have very much impressed the poets of the time, who referred to it frequently in similes. Thus Ālambēri Śattanār speaks of the vāl raised after the Śeliyan, strong of arm, possessed of the large chariot rolling on wheels, won the battle of Āṇḍānam"¹⁹ Kallāḍanār, another member of the latest brilliant galaxy of early poets, says that gossip about the relations between a maiden and her lover caused a louder noise than "the roar of the battle of Āṇḍānam when the Śeliyan, the lord of the Southern tribe, whose big chariot was adorned with gold, with his strong shoulder, like a pillar and with his moving chariot utterly defeated seven

¹⁸ கொய்சவந் புரவித் 'கொடித்தேர்ச் செழிய
ஞலல் காணத் தகன்றலை சிவப்பச்
சேரல் செம்பியன் னென் செழுதிதியன்
பேரர்வல் யானைப் பொலம்பு நெழினி
காரரி நனவி நெருமை யூரன்
தேங்கம முகலத்துப் புலர்ந்த சாந்தி
னிருங்கோ வேண்மானியதெர்ப் பொருநனை
தெழுநர் கல்வலமடங்க கொருபனை
முரசொடு வெண்குடை யகப்படுத் துரைசெலக்
கொன்ற னம் வேட்ட.

Agam. 36, II, 13-22.

This, too, occurs in a simile like the ones noted above.

¹⁹ காலிய நெடுத்தேர்ச் கைவண் செழிய
ஞலல் காணத் தமர்சுடர்து யர்த்த
வேல்.

Agam. 175, II, 10-12.

foes."¹⁹ This battle is also described in *Maduraikkāṇṇi*. There it is said that "he flew like the wind, spread fire so that the land was destroyed and encamped at *Ālaṅgānam* so as to terrify his enemies, killed the kings, won the battle, captured their drums and celebrated the victory."²⁰ This "oblation of victory" is described by *Māṅguḍi Kīlār* in *Puram 26* :—"As the ship battered the wind on the deep (waters) of the big sea, the elephant made a broad way on the field of battle. In that broad path on the battle-field, you wielded a spear with the shining blade, killed kings, confounded the army and earned fame by capturing their drums. You made a fire-place with crowned heads as hearth-stones, used the river of blood as water for cooking, poured the flesh and brain (of your foes) into it, with your ankleted arms as spoon stirred and cooked the food and offered the oblation of victory. You, *Sōliya*, killer of foes in battles, with learned *Brāhmaṇas*, full of restraint and versed in the four Vedas, as your courtiers, and Kings as your servants, performed other sacrifices and then grasped the spear.

¹⁹ பொன்னணி செங்கீதேர்த் தென்னர் கோமர
செழுவுறழ் தினிதோ ளியதேர்க் செழிய
சேரா வெழுவு சடிப்படல் கடத்த
யாலங் காணத் தார்ப்பிணம் பெரிது.

Agam, 203, II, 306

²⁰ காவென்னக் கடி துராயு
காடுகூட வெரிபரப்பி
யாலங்காணத் தஞ்சவரலிறத்
தரசுபட வமருழங்கி
முரசுகொண்டு கடம்பேட்ட.

Maduraikkāṇṇi, II, 125-129.

Those that were famous as your enemies not being able to resist you have gone to the heaven (of heroes): may they live there."²¹

Puṣam 24 tells us that Neḍuñjeliyan annexed Mijalaikkūṟam and Muttūṟukkūṟam.²² "You victorious Śeliya, lord of the tall umbrellas and chariots bright with flags, you acquired Mijalai which is full of sluice-heads where water is flowing and which belonged to Evvi, the powerful lord of Muttūru, belonging to the ancient lords who possess elephants decked with gold ornaments and heaps of rice where cranes sleep after eating the carps living in the rice fields."²³

21 களிசுட லிருகருட்டத்து
வளிபுடைத்த சுவடுபொலக
களிதுசென்று கன்னகதறவுக
கன்னகத்திய வியவர்க்க
ஞொளியிலைய வெச்சேத்தி
யரசுபட்ட வமரும்கி
புரைசெய முரசுவெள்ளி
முடித்தலை யடுப்பாபு
புணற்குருதி புலிக்கொளிஇத்
தொடித்தோட் கிடுபிற்றுழந்த வல்லியி
னகுகளம் வெட்ட வடுபொர்த் செழிய
யான்ற சேர்வி யடங்கிய கொள்ளை
கான்மறை முதல்வர் சுற்ற மாக
மன்ன சேவல் செய்ய மன்னிய
யேன் விழுந்திய வரப்பான் வேத்தே
கோத்தோர் மன்றின் பனைவர் சின்னொடு
மாற்ற சென்றும் பெயர்பெந்
குற்ற ராவினு மான்னொழி வேரே.

Puṣ. 26.

²² The conquest of Muttūru, spelt by Aḍiyārkuṁallār as Muttār, is attributed by this commentator to a former Pāṇḍiya (Vide p. 242 ante). This is a legend and Neḍuñjeliyan's conquest is a fact testified to by a contemporary.

Maduraikkāñji supplements the information given by the other poems. Besides the above military exploits of Nedūñjeliyan's it refers to his capture of the town named after the paddy,²⁴ to his defeat of the people of the Kuṭṭanāḍi,²⁵ (part of the Śūra dominions), and to the seizure of the rich town of Muduvellilai²⁶ and of Ajumbil.²⁷

In the poems regarding Nedūñjeliyan may be noticed the fact that the Aryanization of the Madura country was proceeding apace. In one of the quotations already given (Pur. 26) it is said that the king performed sacrifices under the guidance of Brāhmanas who had mastered the vedic lore. There is a reference to the star under which a man is born and instead of 'may you live long' we have 'may your (birth) day star stand firm.'²⁸ This is probably an Aryan idea which had found its way south. The Maduraikkāñji which in its general structure is an imitation of Paṭṭinappālai describes Madura quite as extensively as the latter poem describes Kūvisippūmbaṭṭinam and likewise mentions the sacred places in the city.

23

மாவே வெவ்வி

புனலம் புதலின் பிழலையொடு சுழலித்
சுயலார் ளைரை போர்வித சேக்குத்
பொன்னணி யானைத் தொன்முதிர் வேயிர்
குப்பை வெவ்வின் முத்தைய தர்த
கொற்ற லீன்கொடைக் கொடித்தேர்த் தெழிய.

Pur. 24, ll. 18-23.

24

சின்சான்ற வயர்கெவ்வி

ஊர்கொண்ட வயர்கொற்றய.

Maduraik. II, 87-8.

This place is obviously Nellore, the outermost town and seaport of the Tamil land in former times. Naccinārkkiniyar prefers to take it as Sāliyar, a Śōla port not far north of Madura. Neduñjelijyan captured it with the help of his navy.

The Āgama cults in Madura:

In Maduraiakkāñji we get evidence of the rapid spread of the Āgama cults in the town of Madura. The poet describes "the evening worship, when musical instruments were sounded and unfailing rice-offerings were offered, after they were washed clean, to the gods with winkless eyes, surrounded by heavenly light, ornamented with fadeless flowers and deathless garlands, headed by the great wielder of the battle-axe (Śivan) who created the five elements, viz., water, earth, fire, wind and the sky." ²⁵ The description is too vague to enable us to identify the rite with any one current now. Probably

²⁵ பக்ருட்டுவர் வெங்கோடே.

Madurai, I, 105.

²⁶ முதுவெள்ளினை . . . தொழிக்கேட்ப.

Ib, II, 119-121.

²⁷ அழும்பின்ன காழிழித்தனரும்.

Ib, 345.

²⁸ சின்ற நிலையர் சின்னூண்டின்.

Pur. 24, I, 24.

²⁹ நீரு சிலனார் தீயும் வளியு

மாக விகடபோ டைத்துட னியத்திய

மழுவா ணையோன் திலைய நாக

மாசந விளங்கிய யாக்கையர் குழ்சுடர்

வாடாப் பூவி னிமையா காட்டத்த

காத்த வுணவி னுருகெழு பெரியோர்க்கு

மாசநரு மரபி னுயர்பலி கொடுமா

சத்தி விழுவிற் றுரியல் காங்க.

Madurai, II, 458-460.

the rites of worship were too fluid to resemble any of the clear-cut rituals of later days.

Besides this the worship of Viṣṇu too prevailed. "Beautiful young women, adorned with brilliant jewels, along with their dear husbands who protected them, and taking their bright children who were like the beautiful lotus flowers with plenty of pollen, all of them shining together, carried flowers and incense and worshipped in the temple of Him (Viṣṇu) who protects the world."¹

The Vaidika cult was also practised by some. "They recited the Veda clearly; they performed the excellent rites belonging to it; they realised the unity of their self with that of the earth, and reached the high heaven-world while they were still here (in this world). Their loving minds did not deviate from the path of righteousness and led the lives of great men in the Brāhmaṇa houses on the hills."²

1. திண்கதிர் மதாணி பொண்குறு மாக்கோ
போம்பினர் தழீஇத் தாடிபுணர்ந்த முடங்கித்
தாதணித் தாமரைப் போதுபிடித் தாக்குத்
தொழு மயகு மேராய்கு வினககல்
காமர் கவினய பேரினம் பெண்டிர்
புலினர் புனகயினர் தொழுவனர் பழிச்சித்த
சிறந்துபுறம் காக்கும் கடவுள் பன்னியும்.

Ib. II. 461-467.

2. நெத்த வேதம் வினங்கப் பாடி
விழுச்சி கொச்சிப கொழுக்கொடு புணர்ந்த
சுவாமர் னையப் தொருதா மாடு
புயர் சிலை புலக பிவனின் தெய்து
மறகெறி பிழைபா யன்புடை கொஞ்சிற்
பெரியோர் மேல் வின்கி னுறையு
தந்துதலின் நன்ன வந்தணர் பன்னியும்.

Ib. II. 468-474.

The ascetics of the Jaina and Bauddha cults resided in gardens, and not in monasteries as in the next century. "They were worshipped by Śrāvakas (disciples) who took with them flowers with honey in them so as to attract bees and also incense. They understood the past and the future, as well as what occurred in the present and explained them to people. They were sages who knew all about the heaven and the earth. These sages had unfading bodies, while yet they practised ascetic exercises, and were contented with all happenings. They carried in many-threaded loops small-mouthed pots looking as if they were cut out of stone. . . . They lived in gardens full of wonderful flowers"²³.

In the case of the four passages quoted above I totally differ from the commentator's interpretation.

As these Northern cults had not displaced or absorbed the ancient Tamil cults and as they had not secured much royal patronage, they existed side by side, without engaging themselves in the fierce war with each other as they did from the VII to the IX centuries.

23 வண்ணபடப் பழுவிய தேனார் தேவந்தத்துப்
பூவும் புனைபுரு சாவகர் பழிச்சச
சென்ற காவலும் கருடம மயமு
மின்றிவட்டோன் ரியவொழுக்கமொடுகண்ணுணர்ந்த
வானமு சிலறுந் தாமுழு துணருத்
சான்ற கொள்ளைச சாயா யாக்கை
யான்றடங் கறிநுந் செறித்தனர் கோன்மார்
கவ்வொளிர் தன்ன மீட்டுவாய்க் காண்டைப்
பல்புரிச் செயிவி காற்றி கவ்வா

இதம்பூது சான்ற நம்புச் சேக்கையம்

Ib. II, 475-483 and I. 487.

A description of Madura :

Sundaram Pillai condensed the greater part of the *Maduraikkāñji* into a description of Madura. Though vivid, it is not a fancy picture, but is based on the information contained in the poem. It was published in the Madras Christian College magazine for 1911 and is reproduced here. "We now reach the gateways, which are as high as the cloud-capped mountains, and which are secured by doors, blacked by frequent offerings of oil to the goddess guarding them. We elbow our way through the crowded gateways flooded ceaselessly with passengers, as the Vaigai is with the freshes. The streets are.....' broad as a river', and the houses, too on either side..... 'are well-ventilated with many windows'. The streets are... ..the seats of endless traffic and eternal din, the different aspects of which, throughout the twenty four hours of the day, the poet stays now to recount.

"It was probably with the early dawn that we started towards the town from the Vaigai side, and we may, therefore, suppose that it was seven or so when we got to the streets. They are, however, by that time quite busy and full.

"The surging crowds move to and fro and in the confusion of tongues they create, we hear nothing but a roar, like 'the roar of the sea when lashed by the high winds.' The drumming, singing and dancing, in diverse quarters, would show, that pleasure is even more noisy than business. With our ears thus assailed on all sides, we resign ourselves to sight-seeing. What strikes us first is the forest of flags that obstructs our vision on every side. There float the figured pennons hung up for the periodic festivals. Here wave the victorious colours

presented to chieftains of war for special services rendered to the state. Here and there and everywhere over each liquor shop, dance the merry streamers that betoken the unparalleled virtues of the beverage retailed by their owners. Each trade or guild seems again to have its own distinguishing flag. Recalling our wandering eyes then to what is closer to us, we observe that the crowd about us is made up of small concentric circles eddying round petty vendors of sweetmeats flowers, garlands, perfumes, betel, nuts, et hoc genus omne. But being a military station, the ordinary traffic of the streets is now and then suspended by the occasional appearance of the king's forces, elephants that break from their bondage, and rush from the royal stables into the streets, like vessels torn from their anchorage and driven into whirlpools by violent gales; chariots swift as winds, horses that march for camp exercises and military evolutions; and worst of all, fierce soldiers, 'drenched in toddy.' As these disturbing agents pass through the streets, the crowds run hither and thither, excited and terror-stricken, as if life itself was in danger; and it takes some time before peace is restored and the poor pedlars and petty dealers resume their seats under the shade of the lofty pile of buildings on either side of the streets. More enterprising, we note, are certain elderly women, who knowing the weakness of their sex move about from door to door, advertising their dainties and flowers, and so tempting the inmates of the inner chambers to effect easy purchases. Thus continues the traffic all through the day, incapable of any perceptible increase, or decrease, like the ocean, which remains ever full whether the cloud pours in or draws off its contents.

" But time flies all the same : and as the day wears out the scene changes. In the declining hours of the evening there pass into the streets, either riding or driving, the chivalrous noblemen of the city, well guarded by their footmen. They are clad in red silk and flowing upper garments. Their swords hang by their sides, and on their breasts roll wreaths of undying fame. Being extremely wealthy, these gentlemen spend the hot hours of the day in agreeable society at home. Later, on the high terraces of their palatial residences appear their ladies, like angels dropped from Heaven. Their perfumes spread fragrance through all the streets, and their happy faces, occasionally hidden by the waving banners hung up on their house tops, shine like the moon struggling under passing clouds.

" [Not far off are] the king's courts of justice, where equity is dealt out as dispassionately and impartially as in a pair of scales. Close by live the ministers of state, remarkable for their insight into what is good and evil, learned but humble, jealous of their reputation, and ever watchful of the cause of rectitude. Further on reside the merchant princes, who are celebrated alike for their scrupulous honesty and wealth and whose business embraces everything useful in the sea, mountain or land. The minor officers of the four divisions of the royal service viz., of the ecclesiastical, military, diplomatic and secret departments come next in order, and we finally reach the artizan classes, including workers on shells and pearls, gold and copper smiths, tailors, and clothiers, dealers in perfumes and flowers, and painters, who can bring out in colours, even subtle modes of movement. All these and others of the town having now come out for business or pleasure, there is scarcely

any elbow room in any of the streets, and we have, therefore, to stand heel to heel. To add to the deafening noise produced by such a concourse of people there take place in every street grand feasting with such sumptuous dainties as jack and mango fruits, sugar candies and tender greens, edible yams and far famed preparations of meat. The bustle of the evening then is not a whit less than what it was in the morning; and the whole scene presents the appearance of a seaport town, hurriedly loading and unloading a coasting vessel that stands already with its sails unfurled to steer out with the first ebb back into the main.

"The sun has now gone down and the moon is up; but our city still knows no rest. The lighting of lamps is but the signal for the fair ladies of the town to prepare themselves for enjoyment. It is the time, likewise, when disreputable characters of both sexes come out and wander about the streets, some of them so drunk that they are unmindful of the sharp pricking nails, that are scattered in front of the elephants, when they turn wild and attack the mahouts that lead them. But more respectable classes of persons are also abroad. For instance, young women, who have but recently attained the honour of maternity are now taken to the tanks for ablutions, while others go out to meet them and to receive their blessings, in the hope of becoming equally fortunate. Later on the soothsayers of the Velan class gather in the houses of the sick, and propitiate in deafening songs the particular deities to whose ill will the diseases are discovered to be due. Each street has, besides, its merry dancees and noisy pastimes.

"So passes the night till twelve, when, step by step, the dancing and singing parties decline in vigour. The petty traders now close their shops, by dropping their bamboo screens, and the poor dealers in sweetmeats sleep in front of their dainties. The actors and performers, likewise, retire to rest; and the town, like an exhausted sea is wrapt up in the silence of sleep. But like the sea again Madura knows no complete rest. For now that honest folks have gone to sleep, devils, human and superhuman, come out to work their mischief. But our poet is apparently not a spiritualist, and he fails, therefore, to give us any further information of the superhuman or disembodied devils. With the human or the tangible portion of the class, he seems, on the other hand, to be perfectly familiar. He minutely describes to us the dress and accoutrements of the burglars of his days, which we cannot afford to reproduce. Besides weapons of offence and defence, these ruffians appear to have carried with them certain rope-ladders for scaling high walls and roofs of houses. But their equipments are of no avail since the alertness of the night patrols ever proves too much for them. If our poet's description of the police officers of his days can be believed, they must have been a wonderfully efficient and exemplary body. With sleepless eyes and fearless hearts they combine consummate cunning and complete knowledge of law. But it is their high sense of duty that is altogether surprising. 'Not even in the rainy nights, when the high streets overflow with water do they absent themselves from their trying posts of duty, or permit themselves a wink of sleep.' Watched over by such a constabulary it is no wonder that the city passes the night in careless profound slumber.

"But there are not many hours for such sweet repose. Long before dawn, we hear the brahmins reciting the vedas like so many humming bees on the surface of opening buds. The musicians are next heard tuning their instruments. The feminine dealers in dainties are now up and are plastering as usual the floors of their shops with cowdung. The toddy sellers are not a whit behindhand, and their confirmed customers are already making their way merrily towards their taverns. The screeching sound of the opening doors now declares that the city is fast shaking off its slumber and in the work of rousing even the sleepest, the crowing cocks, the resonant drums, the song of birds, the caw of peacocks and the roar of elephants and tigers in the royal vivarium, all take part. The court-yards of the rich are then swept clean of the esteemed flowers of yesterday, which have become the dirt of today. With the early dawn the king's forces return from one or other of the many scenes of warfare, with such trophies as the following:—elephants, horses, ornate gates of the captured fortresses, and flocks of cattle lifted in the light of burning villages and driven thither by long spears improvised as goading sticks. Following the victorious forces come the conquered princes themselves to purchase peace from the king, as soon as he rises. To prevent us from taking this triumphal march of successful forces and suppliant princes as a mere accident of the particular morning of our visit, the poet adds that it is thus, day after day, the wealth of the world flows into the city, exactly as the Ganges empties herself into the sea. As the procession passes on, the sun rises up in the heavens, and Madura presents once more the scene of crowded

bustle and confusion, which we witnessed when we arrived in the city previous morning."³⁴

Patronage of poets :

Nedunjellian was a great patron of poets, as so many ancient Tamil Kings were. He composed one ode himself, of eighteen lines, before he fought his famous battle. Therein he says, 'Those that deserve to be scorned by me have, without fear of my valour, spoken in derision of my land, called me a boy, and said that I do not possess tall elephants with bells ringing alternately on either side (when they walked) with their big legs, chariots, horses and warriors trained to fight. If I do not fight these fierce kings in a terrible fight and capture them and their drums, the people who live under the shade of my umbrella, not finding shelter, will shed tears and call me a worthless king, and I will deserve such reproach. Then may the poets, famous throughout the world, with the great scholar Mānguḍi Marudan as their head, no more sing about me! May the people who are patronized by me be caused distress and I get the name of one who does not help the needy.'³⁵

³⁴ Mad. Christ. Coll. Mag. 1901, pp. 120-124.

³⁵ நகுதல் கனரே காடுமீக் கூறா

சிறைய ஈரிவனென கூறியத் கூறிப்

படுமணி யிரட்டிம் பரையடிப் பனைத்தா

னெடுநல் யானையுந் தேரு மாயும்

படைபணம் மறவரு முடைபயம் யாமென்

றுறுதுப் பஞ்சா றுடன்னெஞ் செருக்கிச்

சிறுசொற் சொல்லிய சினக்கெழு யேந்தரை

யருஞ்சமஞ் சிதையத் தாக்கு முரசமொ

டொருக்கப் படுள னுயிற் பொருத்திய

யென்னிழல் வாழ்தல் சென்னிழற் காணா

Incidentally it may be remarked that Neduñjelijan's testimony to Māṅguḍi Marudanār's headship of his court poets shows that the later legend that Nakkīrar, author *Nedūalvāḍai*, one of the Ten Songs, supposed to be sung in praise of this (Pāṇḍiya king) was the head of the Third Śāṅgam held in Madura. This legend was invented by the Śāivas, because Nakkīrar has sung about Śiva. It has been adopted by certain modern writers as a gospel truth, in defiance of Neduñjelijan's own testimony.

The latest Pāṇḍiya King of the period :

The last monarch of this early Pāṇḍiya dynasty was Ukkirapperavaludi, or Ugra Pāṇḍya. It has to be noticed that he was the only Pāṇḍya, mentioned in the early Tamil literature, with a Sanskrit title. It is therefore not surprising to learn that he was the contemporary and friend of the only king of the early Śūla dynasty who had a Sanskrit word in his title, Irāśasūryan Vēṭṭa, one who celebrated the Rājashūya. The only martial exploit for which Ukkirā Pāṇḍyan was famous, was the capture of the fort of Kūṇappēreyil from Vēṅgai Mārban, a petty chief, and only one Puṇam ode²⁶ is addressed to him. Another ode (Puṇ. 367), by Anvaivār, the famous poetess

கொடியவெம் பிதையெனச் சுண்ணீர் பரப்பிச்
குடிபுழி ஆற்றல் கோவே னாக
கோங்கிய திற்பி னுயர்ந்த கேனகி
மாவகடி மருதன் நிலை னாக
வலகமொடு நிலைஇய பவர்புகழ் திறப்பித்
புபவச் பாடாத வரைகென் னிலவரை
புரப்போர் புன்கன் கூட
விசப்போர்ச் சீடா விண்மையா னுநலே.

Puṇ. 72

²⁶ Puṇ. 21.

and the latest of the early Tamil bards, was sung, according to the colophon, when Ukkira Pāṇḍiyan, Perunaṅkiḷi, and Māri Venkō, the Śēra chief, were seated together; the poem does not mention these names, but I think the information in the colophon, is trust worthy.

Tradition says that Ukkira Pāṇḍiyan ordered the collection of the Agam poems into an anthology, and this fits in with the information given by the commentator on Iṟaiyanār Agapporuḷ that with him the Third Śāṅgam ended. This does not mean that every poem in the Agam Four Hundred as we have it now, preceded Ukkira Pāṇḍiyan's time. The first tentative collection was made in his time, and the anthology must have grown in later times, till the round figure of four hundred was reached. The mention by the commentator on Agapporuḷ of Ukkira Pāṇḍiyan as the last Pāṇḍiyan indicates that a catastrophe overtook the Tamil country which closed one great chapter of her great history; what this was will be discussed in a later chapter.

Besides the kings referred to in this chapter, the Puraṇa colophons refer to some others, who possessed one or more of the following titles, Śēliyan, Paṇḍiyan, Tennavan, Valudi, Māṇan, Mūnavan, Kavuriyan, every one of which meant Pāṇḍiyan. It is not possible to discover how they were related to these kings. It is just possible that while the chief Pāṇḍiya king reigned at the capital, others ruled as petty chiefs. When the Pāṇḍiyas had been Aryanized, the legend rose that they belonged to the Lunar dynasty and that Arjuna's son by Citrāgadā, the Pāṇḍiya princes, succeeded to the throne after her father and then the Pāṇḍiyas became five at a time, like the Pāṇḍavas.

They were hence given the title of Pañjavar.²⁷ Probably to keep up the dignity of Pāṇḍava descent after it was invented, the Pāṇḍiya chiefs were counted as five, ruling at the same time, as it seems to have been done in the XIII century A. D.

²⁷ Thus the Pāṇḍya that died at Velliyaṁbalam, was called *பஞ்சவர சேன*, 'the bull among the five,' in l. 8 of Pur. 58, a late ode.



CHAPTER XXIV.

ARYAN IDEAS IN AGAM AND PURAM.

Gods :

Gods :—Into the poems that were composed in the IV and V centuries A. D., slowly, very slowly entered chiefly by way of allusions Northern (Aryan) ideas, concepts, beliefs and superstitions. These are found mostly in the odes composed by the latest poets. The total number of such Aryan intrusions are very few when compared with the genuine Tamil ideas, customs and beliefs. I have gathered the former together in this chapter from the Agam and the Puram where they are chiefly found. Śivan is referred to once in the Agam and five times in the Puram. One reference is to His helping the Devas to victory by shooting the three forts (of the Asuras) with a single arrow, having a serpent as the bow-string and the hill as the bow, and He is described as blue-throated, wearing the crescent on his fair head and with an eye shining on his forehead.¹ The other references are only short phrases allu-

¹ தங்கமலைப் பெருவிற் பாம்பு ஞாண் கொளிஇ
யொருகண்ண கொண்டு மூவெயி றூடத்தில்
பெருவிற் றமர்த்து வென்றி தத்த
கறைபிடற் தண்ணல் காமர் சென்னிப்
பிறைறுதல் விளக்கு மொருகண் போல.

Pur. 55 ll. 1-5.

² முக்கட செல்வா

³ கீணியிர் சடை

Ib. 6. 1. 18.

ding to his three eye¹, his matted locks,² his blue throat and the crescent moon on his head³. One passage, in the Agam, refers to the three-eyed Śivan.⁴ In one stanza of Puram, Śiva, Balarāma, Kṛṣṇa and Subrahmaṇya are described. "He who is riding on a strong bull, has matted locks blazing like fire, the invincible battle-axe, and a throat like the blue gem, and He whose body is of the colour of the chank from the sea, and who wields the death-desiring plough and has the palmyra flag, and He whose body is of the colour of the well-washed sapphire and who raises aloft to the sky the bird-flag and desires victory, and He who holds up the gem-like

முது முதல்வன் Ib. 166, II. 1-2.

¹ 'The Ancient Lord of long, stiff matted locks.'

² பால் புதை பிதைதுதற் பெருவித்த சென்னி

வே மணிமிடற் குருவன்.

Ib. 91, II. 5-6.

³ 'He who has a head shining with the milk-like crescent moon and a throat like sapphire.'

⁴ ஐரவசுர சுவர்க்கெழுதல்விதை
சான்மறை முதுதல் முக்கட் செல்வ
ஐவ முற்றங்கலின் பெறத் தைஇ.

Agam. 181, II. 16-18.

¹ 'The three-eyed Lord whom the sweet-toned four Vedas which spread good to the world (sing about), embellished beautifully the yard where the banyan tree goes.'

In Pur. 198, I. 9, occurs the phrase ஆலமர் கட்டின் the god in the banyan tree.' The commentator has interpreted this phrase as 'Viṣṇu on the banyan leaf'; I think this explanation is anachronistic, for the phrase is a common epithet only of Śivan in early Tamil literature.

peacock flag, who is always victorious, rides the peacock (or the elephant) and is bright red."⁶ Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva are referred to in one more place, where a Śōḷa and a Pāṇḍiya are together praised as looking like these two gods.⁷ There are two other references to Kṛṣṇa, one where a Pāṇḍiya is described as full of fame, like Māyūḥ, famous for his powers of teaching.⁸ An incident in the life of Kṛṣṇa is described also in Purāṇa. "When the terrible asuras swarmed and concealed the sun who shone in the sky and he disappeared, (men) could not see on account of darkness. To relieve the distress of the round world, the collyrium coloured one of great strength brought (the sun) back and raised (him) in the sky."⁹ One stanza in

6 ஏதற்குங் ஐயசிய செய்சிமரு னலிசிரடை
மாதற்குங் கணிச்சி மணிமிடற் றோனும்
சடல்வனற் புரியவோ புறையு மேனி
படல்வெற் காஞ்சிற் பனைக்கொடி யோனும்
மண்ணுற திருமணி புறையு மேனி
விண்ணாயர் புட்கொடி விரய்வெய் யோனும்
மணிமயி ஐயசிய மாரு வென்றிப்
பிணிமுத னூர்தி யொண்ணெய் யோனும்

Pur. 56 II, 1-8

7 பரணித யுருவித் பனைக்கொடி யோனும்
நீனித யுருவி னேன் யோனும். Pur. 58, II, 14-15.

8 மாயோ னன்ன
புறையால் மெய்யிற் புசும். Pur. 57 II, 2-3.

9 அணக்குடை யபுணர் கணக்கொண் டொளித்தெனச்
சென் விளங்கு மெப்பிங் றூவிது காணு
திருள்கண் கெடுத்த பரிதி ஞாலத்
திடுமலைகொன் பருவந் திரக் கெத்திந்
வஞ்சன் யண்ணன் நத்து மிறத்தாய்கு.

Pur. 174, II, 1-5.

Agam refers to Māl's bending the branches of the tree, that the cowherdresses may wear the cool leaves for cloth.¹⁰ Paraśurāma is alluded to once in Agam. This will be referred to latter. There is one more reference to Kṛṣṇa in Agam. "Like the garland on the wide, all-conquering breast of the wielder of the discus whose bright spokes are well-arranged, was the rain-bow."¹¹

Rāma is alluded to once in Purāṇ and once in Agam. In the former poem it is said that monkeys picked up Sītā's ornaments which she dropped when Rāvaṇa carried her in his aerial car, and wore them topsy-turvey.¹² In Agam, the following simile occurs. "As was silenced the banyan tree with many aerial roots

¹⁰ அண்டர் மகலிந் தண்டணை யுடனூர்
மதஞ்செல யிதித்த மாஅல் போல.

Agam, 59 ll. 5-6.

The original of this tale is not found in Sanskrit so far as I know and perhaps it is not an Aryan legend of Kṛṣṇa but a Tamil legend of Māyān.

In modern versions the story is somewhat altered. The ladies desire to wear their own clothes stolen by Kṛṣṇa.

¹¹ நோர்கதிந் தீரைத்த கேயியஞ் செல்வன்
போரடங் ககலம் பொருத்தி தார்போந்
நிருவிவ்.

Agam, 175 ll. 14-16.

¹² கடுத்தே நிராம னுடன்புணர் சீதைமய
வலித்தகை யார்கண் வெளவிய ஞான்றை
கிலஞ்சேர் மதானி கண்ட குரங்கின்
செம்முகப் பெருங்கிளை யிழைப்போலிந் தாஅக்கு.

Pur, 378 ll. 15-21.

(the sound of whose birds disturbed) the thoughts of victorious Rāma, near the shore of the roaring ocean at the ancient Kōḍi (Dhanuskōḍi), which belongs to the Pāṇḍiyas of the conquering spear.¹³

Svarga :

To turn from Ārya legends to Ārya beliefs which had begun to gain a foothold at last in Tamil India. The world of the Devas of the Āryas is noticed in a few passages. The Devas are "the denizens of the fair world where there are forests of gold flowers."¹⁴ Svarga is called "the world of the Gods," "the world to which people go rarely," "the world of the high," "the world of the Gods," "the world of the superiors."¹⁵ It is also

"As the jewels sparkled on the red-faced relations of the monkey that saw the bright ornaments dropped on the ground by Sitā, the wife of Rāma of the strong car, when she was forcibly carried away by the powerful Rākṣasa".

- ¹³ வென்வேற் கவுரியர் தொன்முது கோடி
முழங்கிரும் பெரவ நிதங்கு முன்னுதை
வெவ்போ சிராம னருமதைக் கவித்த
பவ்வி முகம் போல. Agam. 70 ll. 13-16.

This story of the silencing of the birds nesting in the banyan tree, like that of the monkeys wearing Sita's jewels topsy-turvy, is unknown to Sanskrit literature. The Pāṇḍiyas are called kavuriyar perhaps because they worshipped Gauri i.e., Mīnākṣī.

- ¹⁴ பொலம்பூக் கவி னங்குட் போரும். Pur. 38, l. 15.
¹⁵ புத்தேனுவகம் Pur. 22, l. 35, அச்செலுவகு,
Ib. 260 l. 21, உயர்ச்சோனுவகு Ib. 176 l. 20
தேவருவகம், Ib. 228 l. 11, மேலோனுவகம்,
Ib. 229 l. 22,

called the highest of the worlds. "The triple world of which the lowest is that which rests on water and the highest where the cow stands (i.e. goloka)."¹⁶ It is again described as "the world, very difficult to attain, which contains flowers that never fade, (gods with) eyes that do not wink, and sweet-smelling foods."¹⁷ "Being carried away by the winkless (God) called Kāla, he reached the land of the superior persons."¹⁸

Karma :

The law of karma, by which the results of good deeds in this life are reaped in the one after death is stated in one passage.¹⁹ In another passage the question of the enjoyments of the fruit of one's deeds either in the next world or in the next rebirth in this world is spoken of as a disputed point.²⁰ This poem was

முப்புணரெகிய முறைமுதற் கடிக
எரிச்சில சிவப்பின் ஸ்ரீமேல
தசனில புலகத்தாறும.

Pur. 6, II. 5-7.

17 வரடாப் பூமி என்மையா நாட்டத்து
நாற்ற வுணவி னெரு மாந்த
வருமெற லுலகம.

Pur. 62 II. 16-18.

18 கால னெனுங் கணாளி புய்ப்ப

மேலோ குலக மெய்நினன், Pur. 240 II. 5-6.

19 நண்ண செய் எய்வினை மாண்டிசென் துணீஇயர்

Pur. 214, II. 6-13

20 உயர்ந்த வேட்டத் துயர்இலி னெஞ்ச்குச்
செய்வினை மருங்கி செய்த துண்டெனிற்
ஞெய்யா வுலகத்த அகர்ச்சிபுங் கடிக்
தொய்யா வுலகத்து துர்ச்சி யிவ்வெனின்

sung by Kōpperuñjōlan, when he "sat north", i. e. retired to a cave, where he dwelt till he died. The doctrine of rebirth mentioned in the last passage occurs in another, which says, "as in this birth (we delighted in each other's company,) so let my destiny make me see you constantly in my next birth and dwell with you." ²¹ One other passage has been interpreted to mean "Let those who know the nature of the world do good deeds so that they may obtain release;" but the proper meaning of the passage seems to be "Let those who know the nature of the world take its gains as pleasure." ²²

மாதிரி பிறப்பி னினைமயல் கூடு
மாதிரி பிறவுந் தாடினா மிடயத்துக்
கோடுமார் தன்ன தம்பினை ட்டுத்
தீதில் வாழ்கைமொடு மாய் தறவத் தலைபோ.

Page 214, ll. 6-13.

"In the case of the superior persons who are inspired by higher desires if you admit that they experience the fruit of their deeds they may enjoy pleasures in the next world. If they do not enjoy them in the next world they will attain joys in the next re-birth; if even that is not admitted, it is an excellent thing to die after having planted one's good name as high as the lofty Himalayas."

²¹ இக்கூற போலக் காட்டி புண்ணை
விடையில் காட்டு நின்று
குடனுறை வாக்குக யுமர்த பாலை.

Page 236 ll. 10-12.

It may be pointed out that *innai*, *ummai*, and *pāi* are used and not the corresponding Sanskrit terms as in later times.

Vedic Sacrifices :

The patronage of yajñas by the Tamil Rājas of the V century A. D. has been described in two preceding chapters, and need not be repeated here. The last ode of Purāṇam refers to the yūpas in Nalaṅgiḷi's territory.²³ The land of the minor chief Kāri is also described as abounding in Brāhmaṇas who maintain the sacrificial fire.²⁴ I have noticed a simile from the yajña in a very late Purāṇam ode, and that is, "the white royal umbrella was beautifully bright like the triple fire of Brāhmaṇas."²⁵ Though the Tamil kings of the V century A. D. thus patronized Vedic sacrifices, it may be pointed out in the very odes that celebrate the patronage of Vedic sacrifices by the Tamil Rājas, their terrible martial exploits and their plying hardis and harlots with meat and drink are also described. Thus the Pāṇḍiya of many sacrificial halls "destroyed the streets with ploughs to which rows of white-mouthed donkeys were yoked."²⁶ The poem that describes Karikāl's yajña also says that "he destroyed many forts in war and along with his

²³ இன்னு நம்மயிக்கு யுகை

பிரிய காண்குத ஸிவப்பணர்ச் சேரரே.

Pur. 194, ll. 6-7.

²⁴ Pur. 400, l. 19, not quoted, the text being imperfect.

சின்னுகே—

யழற்புறத் தருட மரதண ரதமே.

Pur. 122, ll. 2-3.

companions drank up many potfuls of liquor."²⁷ This shows that their patronage of Aryan rites did not bring about a wrench from their old Tamil traditions.

In the companion anthology to the Puṇam, i. e., the Agam, there is no reference to Vedic sacrifices patronized by Tamil Rājas, but that performed by Paraśurāma is described. One of the many similes which occur in the odes of this collection says, "Like the long pole (yūpa) well-guarded, beautiful to see, and tied with rope round its middle, at which (the incarnation of Viṣṇu who wielded the battle-axe and destroyed the Kṣatriya dynasties, performed the yāga with great effort."²⁸

²⁴ இருபிறப்பாளர்

முத்திப் புறைய காண்டக வீரந்த

கொற்ற வெண்குடை, Pur. 167, ll. 12-14.

²⁵ வெள்வாய்க் கழுதைப் புல்லினம் பூட்டி

பாழ்செய்தனை,

Pur 15, ll. 2-3.

²⁷ அருப்பம் பேணு தமர்கடந்ததாடர்

தனைபுணராயமொடு தகம்புடன் குருவைச்சி,

1b, 224, ll. 1-2.

²⁸ மன்மருத் சுறுத்த மழுவா னெடியோன்

முன்முயன் றரிதனின் முடித்த வேல்விக்

கயிறரை யாத்த காண்டரு வனப்பி

னருக்கடி கொடுத்தான் பேரவ, Agam, 220, ll. 5-8.

The first line occurs unaltered as Max. xxii, l. 25.

Brāhmaṇas:

In Agam is mentioned the Brāhmaṇa who has not performed yūgas (velāppāṇṇān).²⁹ This is the first mention in Tamil literature of the back-sliding Brāhmaṇa, devoted to secular occupations, who since the rise of the Āgama forms of worship became very common.

On the contrary, the Brāhmaṇas devoted to Vedic sacrifices were highly praised. One instance is the description of a person as "descended from learned men famous for having duly performed the twenty one parts of the Yūga, who taught the truth and rejected as false the heresies simulating correct doctrines, for the purpose of checking the growth of people who strayed from the ancient four vedas with their six (aṅgas) which teach the one truth and which are always on the lips of the ancient (Śivan) whose matted locks are long."³⁰

²⁹ வேளாப்பாணன். Agam, 24. L. 1.

The commentator explains this as யாகம்பண்ணாத ஊர்ப்பாணன், 'the lay Brāhmaṇa, who does not perform sacrifices', and adds that such men were engaged in chank-cutting.

³⁰ கண்ணுய்த்த நீணியிச்சடை
முதுமுதவ்வன் வாய்போகா
தொன்றுபுகிந்த விரிசண்டி
னாறுணர்ந்த வொருமுதுன
விகல் கண்டோர் மிகல்சாய்மரர்
மெய்யன்ன பொய்யுணர்ந்து
பொய்யோராது மெய்கொளிது
மூயேழ் துகறடி முட்டின்று போதிய
வரைசால் திறப்பி னுரவோர் மருக.

Agam 181, ll. 15-16 already quoted and translated also refer to Śivan's reciting the Vedas. Those who strayed from the path of the Vedas is a reference to the Bauddhas and the Jainas, the only reference to them in the early anthologies. These heretics lived in caves far from cities and, when in the VI and VII centuries A. D., they secured the patronage of kings and made them into lay disciples, commenced the fierce quarrels between them on the one hand and the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas on the other, which are so frequently mentioned in the Tamil hymns to Śivan and Viṣṇu composed from 600 A. D., to 900 A. D. The references to the Vedic Yajña are thus very few in Agam and Puram; and that the poems and the kings who patronized them must have lived at the very end of the period we are considering can be seen from the fact that the *Tolkāppiyam*, though it tries to impose the Aryan four *Varnas* on the Tamil population and though it refers to the six-fold functions of the *Brāhmaṇas* and five-fold functions of kings prescribed in the Aryan *Dharma Sūtras*, yet does not specify the Vedic sacrifices of Tamil kings.²¹ The reason is that the *Tolkāppiyam* is based on the Tamil poems existing in the age of the author and those poems did not refer to Vedic yajñas because the kings had not yet taken kindly to Aryan practices. It surely must have taken some time for these practices to enter into Tamil life.

Cremation :

One of the customs which evolved in Northern India as the result of the development of the Vedic

²¹ In Por. 76 he speaks only of Tamil victory rites.

fire-cult was that of cremation. The underlying principle of that cult is that all offerings to one or more of the gods ought to be poured into the newly lighted fire, for Agni is the mouth (*mukha*) of the Gods. The offerings were derived from the animals killed for the occasion, called *medha*. The greatest *medha*, greater than the horse, was man. Hence the dead man was conceived as a fit offering for the Gods and became sanctified, as all sacrificial victims were, by being offered to the Gods through fire. On this account wherever the fire-cult spread, there too the custom of cremation was adopted. Before this custom arose, the dead were exposed either wholly or after being cut into various slices (probably to allow of the body being rapidly eaten up by birds of prey), or buried in the ground often within burial urns. The families that accepted the sanctity of the fire-cult took to cremation in South India. So, too, several hundred years earlier, a very degenerated form of the Vedic fire-cult reached Ancient Greece and Ancient Rome and cremation followed in its wake. The custom of cremation spread slowly in Southern India, where the section of the people who have persisted in remaining outside the Aryan cults still practice burial.²² The following are the only references to cremation in Purāṇa. "The bright fire of the funeral pile of black fuel chopped from the garden after it was

²² Sanyāsīs are buried, not burnt. This may be because as they led a life of special holiness, their bodies would be desecrated by being offered to the Gods (who in status are not superior to the Sanyāsīs) or because burial being the older custom was reserved for them.

burnt by Kuravas."²³ "The owl with the split mouth from the hole in the tree cried to the dead man, '(your body) be burnt and (the ashes) be heaped up; ' he rested on the side of the burning ground in the yard behind the house where the tree-spurge grows; and his body was burnt down by the bright fire."²⁴ "She was placed on a bed of bright fire proceeding from the funeral pyre made of firewood placed in an open space in the back-yard where the tree-spurge grows."²⁵ "The funeral pile made of black fire-wood in the back-yard."²⁶ "Gone as the lord of the burning ground."²⁷

Burial:

Side by side with cremation the older custom of burial continued. Cremation is mentioned, in the passages above cited, only in connection with kings and

²³ ஏறிபுணக் குறவன் குறைய வன்ன
கரிபுற விறி வீம வெள்ளழல்.

Pur. 231. II. 1-2.

²⁴ பொத்த வரையுட் போழ்வாய்க் கடகை
கட்டுக் குவியெனச் செத்தோர்ப் பவிரும்
கன்னியம் பறத்தலை பொருளிறை யங்கி
யொள்ளெரி கைப்ப வுடம்பு மாய்த்தது.

Pur. 240. II. 7-10.

²⁵ கன்னி போகிய கன்னியம் பறத்தலை
வென்னிடைப் பொத்திய விளைவிற மேத்
தொள்ளழற் பன்னிப் பாயங் கொத்தி.

Pur. 245. II. 3-5.

²⁶ பெருங்காட்டுப் பண்ணிய குருக்கோட் கமம்.

Pur. 246. I. 11.

²⁷ சுடுபிணக்
காடுபறி மாகப் போகி.

Pur. II. 363. 4-5.

nobles. The ordinary poor were buried in the ground and the higher classes in burial urns.²⁸ Apparently it was a matter of choice whether kings were to be buried or burnt; for the poet Aiyūr Muḍavanūr asks a potter, after the death of Kiḷiivaḷavan who died at Kuḷamurram, "If you desire to make a broad-mouthed urn for burying him, how will it be possible for you to use the circle round the wide earth (horizon?) as your wheel and the great mountain (mēru) as the clay."²⁹ The references to cremation in Purāṇa are really very few, but the commentator makes the reader imagine that they are very many by invariably explaining the words īmaṇ and kāḍu as śudukāḍu, the burning ground. Kāḍu is a place behind the house where the vegetation is allowed to run wild, and is either śudukāḍu or īḍukāḍu, the burning ground or the grave-yard. As cremation is in modern times practically universal, wherever kāḍu is mentioned it is interpreted by the commentator as the burning ground. This is clearly wrong as the context shows. Thus in "the broad thorny backyard (kāḍu), whose soil is brackish and where the tree-spurge

²⁸ விபன்மல சகன்பொழி லீமத் தாழி
யகவி தாக வனைமோச.

Pur. 256. II. 5-6.

'Make the burial urn (சுமத்தாழி) broad, (to be buried) in the earth which stretches wide.'

²⁹ அன்றொந் கவிக்குங் கண்ணகன் குழி
வனைதல் கேட்டனை யாவி னெனையதா-
மிருவல் திசெரியாப் பெருமனை
மண்ணு வனைந லெல்லாமே சினக்கே.

Pur. 228. II. 12-15.

grows,"⁴⁰ "the kādū where the red-cared eagle-cock and the Poguval sit without fear on the round side of the red round burial urn and the strong-mouthed crow and the hooting owl along with devils fly as they like,"⁴¹ "wild vegetation has spread; the tree-spurge has grown; even in the day time, with the hooting owl and the demonesses that resort to the comecry-lamp, this dewy graveyard looks terrible", kādū is the graveyard.⁴²

Puram 359 contains the last remaining reference to the grave-yard, which it calls "the yard, whose surface has been rendered bleak by the vulture descending on its many pathways crossing each other, and wherefrom go away the cruel-mouthed owl which cries in different tones, and jackals which eat carrion, and where in front of the lamps burning on graves, many demonesses, whose teeth are stained with the flesh of corpses, grasp the bodies of the dead, eat the white flesh till they rook with the smell of rotting carrion and dance on the desolate-looking field."⁴³ In all these passages, it may again be pointed out that the commentators invariably explain kādū as śūḍakādū, crematorium,

⁴⁰ கன்ளி போலிய களசியம் பறந்தலை
முள்ளுடை வியன்சாட் டதுவே.

Pur. 225, ll. 7-8.

⁴¹ கவிசெந் தாழித் குவிபுறத் திருந்த
செவிசெஞ் சேவலும் பொருவலும் வெருவா
வாய்வன் காக்கையுங் கூகையுங் கூடிப்
போ யாயமொடு பெட்டாங்கு மழங்குங்
காடு.

Pur. 238, ll. 1-5.

whereas from the context it is plain that *idukādu*, grave-yard is meant. This is because they do not realize that the old pre-Aryan way of disposal of the dead was by burial and that cremation was introduced by the followers of the fire-cult, when Aryan influence began to dominate the minds of the Tamils.

The after-funeral rites of this period do not seem to have been much influenced by Ārya ceremonies, though the passages dealing with them have been misinterpreted as such. Thus the widow, who was dear (to the dead one) made a small mound of the size of the foot-step of a female elephant and placed on grass a small ball of sweet rice" *4 for the dead person. This has been

*3 கனரி பரத்து கள்ளி போகிப்

பகலுங் கூவுங் கூகையொடு பிறழ்வா

விம விளக்கிற் பேராய் மகளிரொ

டஞ்சுவர் தன்றியும் மஞ்சபடு முதுகாடு

Pur. 356. II. 1-4.

*4 பாறுபடப் பறைத்த பன்மறு மருங்கின்

வேறுபடு குரவ வெவ்வாய்க் கூகையொடு

பிணந்தின் குறுகி நிணந்திகழ் பல்ல

பேராய் மகளிர் பிணந்தழுஉப் பற்றி

விளரூன் நின்ற வெம்புளான் மெய்யர்

கனரி மருங்கிற் கால்பெயர்த் தாடி

விம விளக்கின் வெருவரப் பேருங்

காடு.

Pur. 359 II. 1-8.

*4 பிடியடி யன்ன சிறுவழி மெழுதித்

தன்னமர் காதலி புன்மேல் வைத்த

வின்கிற பிண்டம்.

Pur. 234. II. 2-4.

interpreted as an Aryan rite, the grass being explained as darbha grass. This cannot be; for in the Aryan rite, the heir, and not the widow, offers *pinḍa*. Another passage shows that this was an old Tamil rite. It says, "After leaning the hearse (against a tree or a wall), liquor and cooked rice were placed on grass, and in accordance with the commands of the *pulaiya*, the desired food on the grass was eaten and (the dead person) entered fire."⁴⁵ In another ode it is said that the wife of the deceased person whose eyes were unceasingly weeping prepared a bit of ground as small as a small winnowing fan and washed it with cow-dung mixed with her tears for offering him food thereon.⁴⁶ In another passage, it is said that "in the broad backyard filled with tree-spurge and thorny shrubs, the hearse was placed and (she) received rice boiled without salt from a low caste person, and without looking back (placed) it on the ground."⁴⁷ From this it is clear that though the

- ⁴⁵ வெள்ளி னிறுத்த பின்னறக் கன்னொடு
புல்லகத் திட்ட சிவ்வவிழ் வவ்வி
புனைப னெவப் புன்மே லமர்ந்தண்
டமுல் வாய்ப் புக்க.

Pur. 360 ll. 17-20,

- ⁴⁶ கனகித் தெரிட நீக்கி
யமுத லானாக் கண்ணண்
மெருகு மாப்பிகண் கலுழ்சீ ளானே.

Pur. 249, 12-14,

- ⁴⁷ கள்ளி வேய்ந்த முன்னியம் புறக்காட்டு
வெள்ளில் போதிய வியலு னாக்
ஹப்பிலசுடி வவிப்புழுக்கல்
தைக்கொண்டு பிறக்கு ளோக்கா
திழிபிறப்பினோ வீயப்பெற்று
சிலக்கல னாக விலக்குபவி.

Pur. 363, ll. 10-14,

Aryan custom of cremating the dead was adopted in a few cases, the ordinary funeral ceremonies were the old Tamil ones, though the commentators would make it out to be otherwise.

A curious custom:

One curious custom is described in the ode to Adiyamān Nedumān Añji, composed by the famous poetess Auvaiyār. "When an ignoble king runs away from the battle-field and dies (a natural death) from disease, men of the highest caste, who are learned in the Vedas and desire Dharma, embrace his corpse and, forgetting their love (to the dead man), and in order to remove the evil of the wrong action (in running away from the enemy's sword), spread the green grass full of power, place (the corpse on it), and say, 'mayst thou go the way by which went the brave warriors who wore the long bracelet of bravery and fell in the battle-field, clinging to their heroism,' and cut it with the sword and buried it."⁴¹ This same custom is mentioned in the Maṇimēgalai, where Vaṇḍavai, the grey-haired preceptress of the king, the princesses and the ladies belonging to the palace, tells the Śūla queen, "It is such a disgraceful thing, that my tongue cannot utter it, for a scion of this (Śūla dynasty) to die of old age and to be placed on the darbha, cut with a sword and told to

⁴¹ துடன் மரீஇய பீடும் மன்னர்
கொய்ப்பால் வினிந்த யாக்கை தழீஇங்
காதன் மறந்தவர் தீதுமருங் கறுமா
சதம்புரி பசம்புந் பரப்பினர் இடப்பி
மறங்கந் தரக கல்லமர் வீழ்த
கீன்கழன் மறவர் செல்வழிச் செல்கென
வான்போழ்த் தடக்கறும். Pur. 93. ll. 4.11.

go the way of kings who have performed the royal duty of protecting their subjects, and, conquering the territory of longstanding enemies, died in the battle-field."⁴⁹ It may be pointed out that Auvaiyār calls this a general custom and she may have seen it practised; whereas Śāttanār, the author of Maṇimēgalai, makes it a peculiar custom of the Śōja family and probably refers to it from hearsay. Moreover Auvaiyār follows the old practice of Tamil authors and avoids the Sanskrit word *darbha* and uses the Tamil word *pul*, probably because any grass was used for the purpose. But Śāttanār uses *taruppal*; this shows that he belongs to a later age than Auvaiyār, a conclusion which is amply borne out otherwise, for Maṇimēgalai belongs to the age when Aryan culture, and Brāhmaṇa, Bauddha, and Jaina literary traditions had begun to dominate life in Tamil India. I have not been able to determine whether the custom of cutting up the corpses of kings who have not fallen in battle and endowing them with sham heroism was a northern custom or a Tamil custom at which Brāhmaṇas were invited to preside when they had established their holiness in Southern India. It is worth while searching the Epics, the Puranas and the Dharma Sūtras, to find out whether there is any reference to such a practice in them.

⁴⁹ கொற்றங் கொண்டு குடிபுறங் காத்து
கொற்றத் தெவ்வர் தேளத்தம தாக்கியுக்
தருப்பையிற் றெதந் யானிற் போழ்த்து
செருப்புகண் மன்னர் செவ்வழிச் செவ்வென
முத்து விமிதலிற் குடிப்பிறத் தோர்க்கு
காப்புடை பெயகாது நானுத்தக யுடைத்தே.

Astronomy and Astrology :

Besides the Vedic sacrifices, and Epic and Puranic legends, all so poorly represented in Puran and Agam, other knowledge slowly spread from North India to South India, such as astronomical notions and astrological superstitions. In this connection it must be remembered that early in the Vedic age the path of the moon in the sky had been associated with 27 or 28 nakṣatras, which meant at first, certain constellations which helped the early astronomers to mark the position of the sun and the moon in the sky, and later, arcs of the ecliptic; they had learnt to correlate the solar and the lunar years and to correct their calendar by adding two extra lunar months once in every yuga of five years. But there is absolutely no trace of planetary astrology in the Vedas or the subsidiary Vedic literature, nor the idea of the planets, as having erratic motions of their own, different from the ordered march of the stars in the sky. After the Yavanas (Indo-Greeks) established their rule in Gāndhāra and the valley of the Sindhu, Indian astronomy came to be subjugated by the Greek mixture of astronomical science and astrological pseudo-science. The sun and the moon were degraded to the position of planetary deities influencing the course of human lives and acting as rulers of particular days and hours. To the sun and the moon were added Jupiter and Venus and Mars and the less easily visible Mercury and Saturn and the concept of the astrological seven planets and seven days of the week ruled by them was reached. The path of these so-called planets was divided into twelve parts, all for the purpose of predicting the fortunes of man. These notions filtered down from Greece to India between

200 B.C., and 400 A.D. Old Indian astronomy and Yavana astrology became blended together and became the pseudo-scientific later jyotiṣa in which astrology could scarcely be distinguished from astronomy, different from the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa, which was purely scientific. Two more members were added to the miscellaneous company of 'planets,' viz. rāhu and ketu. These new ideas seem to have reached South India in about the V century A.D., for in the latest poems of Puram and Agam, and, that rather rarely, occur astrological allusions. Kūdalūr Kiṭṭir describes elaborately the point in the sky where he saw a shooting-star, in Puram ode 223. It is to be noted that the author follows the early custom of not borrowing from Sanskrit even technical terms. Thus anurādhā from its real or supposed resemblance to a palm is called muṇḍappanaiyam; punarvasu, for a similar reason, kaṇḍaikkūṭam. It is not impossible that the Tamils gave names to these and some other constellations without help from foreign cultures. But the name of aṇṇakkuṭṭam for the Pleiades is the translation of 'the star of fire,' agninaḥṣatre, one of its special Sanskrit names²⁰; and ādu is the translation of mṛga which is itself the translation of Greek aries. Notwithstanding this adhesion to ancient Tamil practice, the poem is sufficiently late to use foreign words (for metric purposes), such as pāṣi, east and ūṭi, west, borrowed from Prakrit. Paṅguṇi has been borrowed and not translated. In this ode the author says that he saw a

²⁰ It is also called அழகி, 'the six fold star', in Agam 141 l. 8 and ஐவ், 'fire,' in Malaipadikaṇḍam l. 100. Rohiṇi is called ஈவல், 'plate' or 'cart' in Agam, 136 l. 5.

meteor falling from a particular point in the sky and thought that it indicated the coming death of the chief Kōccāramān Yāniakkaṣēy Māndarēñjēral Irumbopai who must therefore have been a very late chief.

Vāra is called the 'red star' in the following passage:—"When we saw the full moon in the zenith of the broad sky when the red star was twinkling like the light of a fishing boat on the middle of the ocean, the dancing woman decked with bangles, looking like the untamed peacock, and I hastened to worship (the moon) in the middle of the forest."⁵¹ Venus is the 'white star' and Saturn, the 'dark star.' "Whether the 'dark star' is dim, the comet appears, or Venus goes south."⁵² Apparently these were omens of evil. The explanation of eclipses as due to the serpent swallowing the moon is referred to in the phrase, 'like the moon who has escaped from the sharp teeth of the serpent which has

- ⁵¹ முந்தீர் ஊப்பன் டிமித்கடர் போலச்
செம்பீ னீணமக்கு மாக விகம்பி
ஊச்சி நின்ற யுய்யுழறி கண்டு
கட்டி மஞ்ஞயிற் காமுதல் சேர்ந்த
சிவ்வளை விறவியும் யானும் வல்விணர்ந்து
தொழுதனம்.

Pur. 60, l. 6

- ⁵² ஊமம்மீன் பவதரினுந் தாமக் கோன்றினுந்
தென்றிசை கருங்கின் வெள்ளி யோடினும்.

Pur. 117, ll. 1-2.

That the southing of Venus is a sign of impending disaster is also mentioned in Pattinappālai ll. 1-2. பெய்கு வெண்மீன் திகைதிரிந்து தெற்கேடுனும், 'though the bright Venus changing the direction of its motion go south.'

surrounded it,"⁵³ and "the setting sun soon disappeared like the moon swallowed by the serpent"⁵⁴ and "the face became dim like the moon swallowed by the serpent."⁵⁵

Fewness of Aryan ideas:

The Aryan allusions in the Kurandogai and the Nappinai are so few as to be negligible. One reason is that a larger number of the poems in these collections are older than those in the Agam and Puram and of the two latter, the Agam has more old poems than the Puram. Moreover the subject of love necessitates the use of old Tamil literary conventions more than that of war. Of the four anthologies, the Puram contains the largest number of late poems, those of the V century A.D. and a few of the VI century A.D. It was after Karikāl's time that kings loomed very large in the imagination of poets and their eulogies of kings were preserved with care. In the older ages, poems in praise of kings or petty chiefs lost their interest after the heroes died; it was not so in the case of love, it being a subject of eternal interest to man. This explains the fact that the love-poems that have come down to us from the early ages so largely outnumber the war-poems. The fewness of Aryan ideas in the anthologies which contain

⁵³ கனையுய பாய்பின்

கையெயிற் றுய்த்த மதியின்.

1st Ag. 260, II, 16-17.

⁵⁴ கங்கேர் ஐயி

நாவலுக்கு மதியி னையென மறைவுங்.

Agam, 114, II, 4-5.

⁵⁵ காவலுக்கு மதியி னுதவெனளி கதபய.

Agam, 313 I, 7

the most ancient Tamil poems now available shows how little Aryan ideas had been absorbed by the Tamils before the VI century A. D. That these were really very few can be realized when we remember that these poems refer to many hundreds of genuine old Tamil rites and practices, beliefs and superstitions, customs and conventions, the discussion of which would fill a large volume. This shows that the bulk of the people and the great majority of the poets of the period did not easily take to Aryan culture which belonged to the Brāhmaṇas and with which the latest kings of this period now and then coquetted. Some of these kings, though their private life was lived in accordance with the old Tamil customs, desired to be also affiliated with Aryan culture. They patronized yūgas and desired to be reckoned as descendants of the Kṣatriya Rājas of Northern India. Obliging Brāhmaṇas furnished them with the necessary genealogies.

Of the anthologies, the Puram was the first to be printed (it was published in 1834), along with its old commentary (the other three possessing none such); its introductory ode by Perundēvanār, being a late poem, describes Śiva quite in the style of Sanskrit poems; the next ode, the first of the anthology, is full of Aryan ideas, and several poems that immediately succeed it are late poems; most people stop with reading these, and do not study the other three anthologies and the Poruḷadi-gāram of Tolkāppiyam and straightway rush to the wrong conclusion that Tamil poetry began only after Sanskrit poetry reached Southern India, and others go one better and believe that the Tamil muse was the daughter of the Sanskrit muse.

CHAPTER XXV

ŚĒRA KINGS.

Peruñjeral Ādan :

This monarch was defeated by Karikāl in the battle of Veppil and committed suicide on the battlefield to wipe out the disgrace. He must therefore have lived before 400 A. D., i.e. before Karikāl extended his empire beyond the traditional boundaries of the Śēlanāḍu. This Ādan is referred in various occasional odes; but no long poems were composed about him, such as those of the Ten Songs, and the Ten fold Ten celebrating the greatness of the greater monarchs and nobles of the V and VI centuries. The only incident of his life that is known is that above referred to, forming the subject of the following fine elegy. "The paste is no longer smeared on the drum (i.e. the drum is no longer being beaten); the yāl has forgotten the tune; the broad (milk) pot is upside down and butter is being churned no more; the (royal) kindred are no longer drinking the liquor round which bees swarm; the ploughmen are no more hearing the sound produced by their labours; festivities have deserted the broad streets of the villages; as on the great day of the New moon, the two flames (i.e. the Sun and the Moon) being in conjunction, one vanishes in the dim evening behind the hill, the heroic king [Śēral Ādan], being ashamed of the wound on his back inflicted by his rival monarch, killed himself with his sword. So in future the sun will not move for us in the day-time as easily

as he did in the past".¹ From the colophon we learn that the king who committed suicide was Śēramān Peruñjēral Ādan.

This same event or rather its consequences are described in Agam. "The great ones, who heard the unpleasant news that Śēral Ādan committed suicide with his sword by the side of the field of death (battle-field), because he was ashamed of the wound which he got when he fought with Karikāl Vaḷavan in the plain of Veṅṇi, went along with him to the (heaven) world which is difficult to reach (i.e. committed harikari).² The ode is by Māmūlanār, a later poet, and this

¹ மண்முழை மறப்பப் பண்பாழ் மறப்ப
விரும்பத் குழிநி கவிழ்த்திழுது மறப்பச்
கரும்பார் தேதல் கற்ற மறப்ப
வுழவு ரோதை மறப்ப விழவு
மகல னாகட் சீறார் மறப்ப
வுவவுத் தலைவந்த பெருநா னமையத்
திருகடர் தம்மு னோக்கி யொருகடர்
புன்கண் மரலை மலைமறைத் தாங்குத்
தன்போல் வேந்தன் முன்புருநித் தெறித்த
புறப்புண் னுணி மறத்தகை மன்னன்
வான்வடக் கிருத்தன வீங்கு
கான்போற் கழியவ ஞாயிற்றப் பகலே.

Pur. 65.

² கரிகால் வளவனொடு வெண்ணிப் பறத்தலைப்
பொருதுபுண் னுணிய சேர வாத
னழிகள் மருங்கின் வான்வடக் கிருத்தன
வின்னு வின்னுரை சேட்ட கான்றோ
ரகும்பெந னுலகத் தவனொடு செவீஇயர்.

Agam, 55, ll. 10-14.

explains his speaking of the harikari as the attempt to reach Virasvarga, an Aryan idea. This poem calls the monarch Śēral Ādan and the colophon to Puṣam 65 above quoted, distinguishes him from other Śēral Ādans by prefixing the epithet 'Perum.' Another reading makes him 'Perundōl Ādan.' Ādan of the big shoulders'.³

Udiyan of the Big Feed:

The first great Sēra monarch, about whom we have some information is Udiyañjeral Ādan of the Big Feed. This epithet has been so much misunderstood from early times and has given rise to such absurd legends that the one Puṣam ode in which a contemporary poet, Muḍināgarāyar of Muriñjiyūr, has eulogized him deserves to be fully quoted and fully discussed. It runs thus:—"The earth is packed full of molecules, the sky is supported by the earth, the air embraces the sky, the fire encounters the air, and the water is hostile to the fire. Like, in nature, to the five elements, you bear with your enemies; you possess extensive wisdom, you have strength, you have might (to destroy) and mercy (to protect); the sun who is born from your ocean, moves on and bathes in the western sea which is topped by white waves; you are the lord of a fair land in which there are (many) places which yield a large revenue, Lord of a country which has (but) the sky as its boundary, you are a great (monarch). The twice fifty (Kauravas), who were enraged with the five (Pāṇḍavas), possessors of horses with flowing manes, seized their lands and wore the golden Tumbai garland (i.e. proceeded to fight with

³ Puṣanñūru, 2nd Ed. p. 135.

them), having fallen on the field of battle, you distributed a large quantity of cooked rice without limit. Even if (fresh) milk should taste sour, the sun turn dark, and the four Vedas turn from the path (of righteousness), [i.e. even if the essential nature of things should change], along with your loyal kindred, may you, without fear, live your full length of years, like the Podiya hill and the gold-peaked Himalayas on whose side the small-headed stag and the large-eyed hind sleep beneath the light of the triple-fire at which Brāhmanas offer their evening libations.*⁴

4 மண்டலினிந்த நிலனும்
 நிலனேந்திய விசம்பும்
 விசம்புதையரு விளியும்
 வளித்தலைஇய தீயுக்
 தீமுரணிய நீரும் என்றும்
 கைம்பெரும் பூதத் தியற்கை போலட்
 போற்றார் பொறுத்தனஞ் சூழ்ச்சிய தகைமும்
 வலியுக் தெறறு மணிபு ருடையோய்
 சிங்கடற் பிறத்த ரூயிற் பெயர்த்துந்
 வெண்டலைப் புணரிக் குடகடற் குளிக்கும்
 யாணர் வைப்பி னன்னாட்டுப் பொரு
 கான வசம்பனை நீயோ பெரும
 வலங்குளைப் புரவி யைவொடு சினைஇ
 சிலத்தலைக் கொண்ட பொலம்பூத் தம்பை
 வீணார் பதின்கரும் பொருதகனத் தொழியப்
 பெருஞ் சோற்ற மிகுபதம் வகையாறு கொடுத்தோய்
 பாஅல் புளிப்பினும் பசுவிகுளினும்
 காஅல்வேத கொறிதீசியினும்
 திரியாச் சுற்றமொநி முழுதசேண் வினங்கி
 கடுக்கின்றி நிலியரோ வந்தை யடுக்கத்துச்

Lines 15 and 16 of this ode are rather ambiguous. They say, "the twice-fifty having fallen (oḷiya) on the battle-field, you distributed without limit a large quantity of cooked rice." The participle 'having fallen' is capable of many meanings, (1) for the reason that they fell, (2) when they fell, being two important ones. Of these the second is susceptible of misinterpretation, because it may mean 'at the moment they fell' or (long, we do not know, how long) after they fell. The former is the proper interpretation, but all Tamil scholars from early times have taken it to mean "at the time they fell," thus necessitating the inference that Udiyañjēral was present at the battle. So the commentator of the *Puṇam* anthology has, as so many commentators of Tamil poems have done, imported into his paraphrase things that are not found in the text but have been acquired by his wide reading and by his ratiocination, and said that the Śēra king fed 'both the (contending) armies unstintingly,' [probably during the whole course of the war.] The commentator in importing this new idea, probably relied on that unlimited repertory of myths regarding old kings—the romance called *Śilappadigāram*. In this poem Udiyañjēral is called "the Śēra, the *Puṇaiyan*, the *Malaiyan*, who distributed unhesitatingly a large quantity of food in the fight (ṛōril) between the

சிறுதலை கய்விப் பெருங்கண் மரப்பிணை
யந்தி யத்தன ரருங்கட னிறுக்கு
முத்தி விளக்கிற் றஞ்சும்
பொற்கோட் டிமயமும் பொதியமும் போன்றே.

Pur. 2.

* உணவை இருபடைக்கும் வரையாது வழங்கினோம்

Pur. 2nd Edition P. 7

five and the hundred."³ The commentator made the implication in these lines explicit by saying that Udiyan fed both armies, without realizing the absurdity of the idea that a Rājā of the Southernmost corner of India carried rice and condiments to Kurukṣetra for the purpose of feeding of the wheat-eating followers of Duryodhana and Yudhiṣṭira!

As I have said, the proper meaning of the passage is that Udiyan celebrated the death of the Kauravas by distributing food to people. This celebration was probably of the nature of a Śrāddha or perhaps the finale of a dramatic representation of the Bhārata battle. The Sēra country has been famous from ancient times for the peculiar kind of drama, called Kathakalī—a dumb show performance, the actors dressed in character, of (amongst other things) incidents from the Mahābhārata, accompanied by songs. It may well be that the Big Feed occurred at the end of such Kathakalī. Such funeral oblations to heroes who died long, long previously, was very common in the Tamil country. They were called paṭṭavar kuṭi, feeding as a mark of respect for the dead. Dramatic representation of the valiant deeds of ancient heroes, followed by a big feed was, and continues to be, a common event in the Tamil country. It is now called Kamba Sēvai or Kambakkūttu or Kaḷaikkūttu, at the end of which Kambañjeymākkal, the farm-labourers who take part in the merry-making, are fed by the largest owner of the fertile fields of the village.

³ துறைய ிரைம்பதின்ம குடந்தெழுந்த
பேரளிற் பெருஞ்சோறு போற்றாது தானளித்த
சேரன் பொறையன் மலையன்.

Other poems on the Big Feed :

But we need not depend entirely on conjecture to conclude that Peruñjeral Ādan's renowned Big Feed was a memorial feeding or one that was the final incident of a village festival, for two passages in the Agam anthology also refer to that fact, and in unmistakable terms. The first is from an ode by a Śēra prince, called Śēramān who died at Kōṭṭambalam, which contains the simile, "like the kitchen of Udiyan who ungrudgingly accepted the duty of the gift (of food) in the village of Kuḷumūr, where cows abound."⁴ This fixes the place where the famous feeding took place as Kuḷumūr (probably identical with a place of the same name in the Coimbatore district) and not Kurukṣetra. The other passage speaks of "the day of the distribution of a large quantity of cooked rice by Udiyañjēral, who (thus) honoured the elders who had died and earned undying fame, when a crowd of large-teethed goblins swarmed round."⁵ This poem definitely informs us that the Big Feed did not take place during the battle, but on a very much later occasion, when some kind of celebration of the memory of the battle took place. And what kind of celebration could it have been other than a

⁴ கல்லான் பரப்பிற் குழுளு தாய்கட
கொடைக்கட னென்ற கோடா கொஞ்சி
ஹதிய னட்டில் போல.

Agam, 162, ll. 5-7.

⁵ துறக்க மெய்திய தொய்யா கல்விசை
முதியர்ப் பேணிய யுதியஞ் சோதல்
பெருஞ்சோற கொடுத்த ஞானநை யிரும்பல்
கனிச் சுற்றம் குழிஇருந் தாங்கு.

Agam, 233, ll. 7-10.

dramatic performance, at the close of which the actors and the audience were fed on a large scale, at the place called *Koḷumūr*?

This poem is by *Māmulanār*, one of the latest of the poets whose poems have been included in the early anthologies. Hence *Udiyañjēral*'s date cannot be very early.

This *Udiyañjēral* seems to have been a great warrior. For *Narppinai* has the simile, "like the noise of the lily-flute (or the tune called 'the lily' played on the flute) of the musicians on the noisy battle-field where *Udiyan* fought fiercely."⁶ *Agam* has the simile, 'like the bards who sought bounty by singing the praises of *Udiyañjēral* who enlarged his dominions.'⁷ Hence this *Udiyan* was a warrior and a generous patron of letters and scarcely likely to have been butler-in-chief to the contending armies on the field of *Kuruksetra*.

Time of the Big Feed :

Otherwise, too, it is the height of nonsense to ascribe this *Puṇam* ode, its author and its hero to any date earlier than the V century A. D. The first six lines of the ode constitute a pedantic enumeration of the 'five great elements' (*aiṁberumbūdam*) i.e., the five

⁶ உதியன் மண்டிய வெளிதலை குடும்பி
எரிமென் பெருக்கைத் தியவ குது
மாம்பலங் குழலின்.

Nar. 113, ll. 9-11.

⁷ உரெண் ணகத்திய வுதியஞ் சேரந்
பாடச சென்ற பரிசிலர் போல.

Agam. 65, ll. 5-6.

This is also by *Māmulanār*.

classes of permanent possibilities of sensation into which the Sāṅkhya philosophy analysed the objective world. Such an allusion could have been made only after Āryan ideas had thoroughly saturated the mind of the Tamils. So also the other allusion to the golden-peaked Himalayas, which occurs only in later poems. We may take it that Udiyan lived after Peruñjēral Ādan, for the one Puṇam ode on the latter by a contemporary poet is, judging from internal evidence, anterior to the one on Udiyan, also by a contemporary poet.

The Ten fold Ten :

We can derive information about the kings who succeeded this Udiyan from the Padirūppattu or Tenfold Ten. The Padirūppattu is an anthology of ten poems, each poem being made up of ten odes of varying length but containing on an average about 20 lines each. This is the first of the anthologies of odes, not occasional, but of groups of ten poems each, each group composed with the set purpose of elaborately eulogizing one particular monarch or chief. Of these the first and the last have been lost. Each of these is about a Śera king or chief, and is furnished with an epilogue (padigam) found not in the manuscript copies of the text alone, but only in the copies which contain also the commentaries; these padigams furnish historical or legendary notes about the heroes of the poems containing matter mostly not found in the text. As usual, modern writers have confused the text of the poems with the epilogues and speak of the whole as Padirūppattu and attributed equal evidential value to the text and the epilogue and also the commentary.

The poets of the Tenfold Ten were Brāhmanas of the V or VI century A. D. Hence the poems seem

with references to Aryan ideas and Āgama practices and therefore must have been composed after the Āgama temple worship had spread in the land. Thus the opening lines of ode 14 of the second Ten eulogize the king as possessing "greatness," unmeasurable like the four (elements), earth, water, air and sky and splendour equal to the effulgence of the (following) five, viz., the stars, the planets, the moon, the sun and the intense fire, when they are gathered together in one place."⁸ In this passage, besides the differentiation between the stars and the planets, an idea taken over from Greek astronomy, there is probably an allusion to the later Indian concept of the celestial bodies being all concentrated in one quarter at the beginning of a Kalpa.

The first line of ode 21 mentions as five aids to the right conduct of kings, "grammar, artha śāstra, astrology, the śruti, and the pure reason."⁹ This indicates that the Sēra kings had been sufficiently Aryanized to break from their age-long moorings, but conservatism still reigned in the region of language, for the "aids to conduct" are called by Tamil names, ingenious translations of the Sanskrit ones, the words 'nāṭṭam' and 'kē[vi,' being specially noticeable. The old conventions are slipping from the minds of monarchs and the precepts of the Brāhmanas are gaining a strong grip.

சீவகீர் ஸரீலிசம் பென்ற நான்லி
 னளப்பசி னையே
 நான்கோ டிங்கண் ஞாலிது கணையழ
 வேந்தொருங்கு புணர்ந்த விளக்கத் தனையை,
 Padir. 14, ll. 1-4.

சொற்பெயர் நாட்டம் கேள்வி
 செஞ்செயன் னறத்து.

Padir. 21, ll. 1-2.

showing that the age is one of transition. That Brāhmaṇas became the keepers of the royal conscience is proved by another passage where the king is praised as "following the ways of the virtuous Brāhmaṇas whose duties are six, viz., learning, offering sacrifices, assisting others to do these, taking and making gifts."¹⁰ Another reference to the new ways that were spreading in the land is an allusion to a king giving gifts of jewels to temples¹¹ and to the destruction of forests and the building of temples in the sites.¹² In these temples the Āgama form of worship was followed. Thus, "The well-cast bell was sounded so as to emit a clear, loud note. Men who were fasting bathed in the cool bathing-ghat. They worshipped the fair feet of the Lord Viṣṇu who wears the garland of clusters of sweet-smelling holy basil, and (wields) the discus which dazzles the eyes, and on whose broad breast is seated Lakṣmī who is adorned by a garland (of flowers) round which bees are humming."¹³

¹⁰ ஓதல் வேட்ட லையயிறர்ச் செய்த
வித வேற்றலென் னுறுபுரிக் தொழுது
மறம்புரி யந்தண் னவழிமொழிக் தொழுதி.

Padir. 24. II. 6-8.

¹¹ புரையயிற் புரையயிற் பெரிய சங்கி.

Ib. 15. I. 37.

¹² காடே கடவுள் மேன.

Ib. 13. I. 20.

¹³ தென்ருயர் வழுமணி யெறியுள் கல்வென
வண்ணப் பைஞ்ஞிலம் பணித்துரை மண்ணி
வண்டுது பொலிதார்த் திருஞெம ஈகவத்துக்
கண்பொரு திவிரிக் கமற்குரற் றழாஅ
யலங்கற் செல்வன் சேவடி பாலி.

Padir. 31. II. 5-9.

But yet the old Tamil customs had not been ousted by the new Aryan ones. For there are four references to the old *Tanaṅgai* dance by kings on the battle field, of which the following is a specimen. "Raising high the strong shoulders and dancing the *Tanaṅgai* (beating the sides of the body with bent arms during dancing) on the battle-field filled with corpses."¹⁰ The other ancient *kuravaḷ* dance is also mentioned as taking place in *Puṅār*.¹¹ The ancient Tamil dance of victory on the battle-field is also described. "The powerful drum was beaten; the sword was raised aloft by the bejewelled king, who wore the *uliṅai* creeper made of gold, and danced on the battle field."¹²

Another case of the persistence of Tamil ways is the continuance of the practice of burial, even of royal corpses. "The burial-ground where the burial urns in which kings were buried were seen in the assembly place under the *vanni* (*Suma*) tree."¹³ The commentator

¹⁰ திண்டிவோடு நாயகர் போரில்

பிணம்பிதல் கருவத்துத் துணைவை யாடி.

Ib. 45, II, 11-12.

Other references are found in 13, I, 5, 52, I, 14, 57, I, 4, and 77, I, 4.

¹¹ குரவை வயரும் புகார்.

Ib. 73.

¹² வலம்படு முரசுத் துணைவப் பவநாயகர்

திவங்கும் புணன் பொலங்கொடி யுழிநுயல்

.....பேரங்குநத் தாடுந் கோவே.

Ib. 56, II, 4-5 and 8.

¹³ மன்னர் மறைத்த நாழி

வன்னி மன்றத்து விளங்கிய காடே.

Padīr. 44, II, 22-23.

explains that under this tree the mourners sat as in a *manram* (assembly). Even the old Tamil gods are holding their own against the new Aryan deities. Thus the god of the mighty war-drum is lauded but along with mantras.²⁰ The mantras were of course not genuine but imitation ones invented for the benefit of the newly Aryanized kings. The goddess of victory still continued to reside in the *Vāgai* tree.²¹

Hence it is plain that though the Aryan intrusions are more intimate than in the previous ages, the Tamil literary tradition was carried on in these poems. They are each assigned to the *Turai* into which the *Tināis* are divided in *Tolkāṇṇiyanār's* grammar: all the old turns of expression, the distribution not only of food and drink to singers and dancing women, but presenting them with gold ornaments, horses, elephants and chariots abounded in the *Paṭṭappattu*. The primary object of each group of ten odes is to sing of one great *Sēra* hero. The first ten is lost and it has been guessed that it must have sung of *Udiyañjēral*. The second is about his son *Neḷuñjēral* and the fifth about the latter's son, *Kaṭṭuvan*. The rest are about junior members of the family or more distant relations. The achievements of the two great *Sēra* monarchs will now be taken up for consideration.

M. Raghava Iyengar has in his Tamil book on *Sēra* *Seṅguttavan* selected the accounts of the exploits of the

²⁰ முழங்கு மந்திரத்
தருத்திதன் மரபிற் கடவுட் பேணியர்,

Ib. 30 II. 33-34.

²¹ கடவுள் வானை,

Ib. 66. I. 15

Śēra kings celebrated in the eight poems so far discovered of the Tenfold Ten and narrated them briefly. But he has taken the references by contemporary poets, the later references in the Śīlappadigāram, and the accounts in the Epilogues, which were composed centuries after the poems, and whose texts are in some cases hopelessly corrupt, as all having the same historical value, whereas the information about the Śēra heroes of the poems given in the padigams can be accepted by us only if the poems themselves even remotely confirm it. Where such confirmation is not available it is difficult to decide whether the statements in the epilogues, can be accepted as true. In them improbably long periods are assigned to the reigns of some kings. For the matter of that, the poems themselves adopt an exaggerated style of adulation not found in the earlier anthologies. An example will be given in connection with the king dealt with in the section that immediately succeeds this. This exaggeration shows that the old realism is giving way and the methods of the artificial Kāvya of Sanskrit are beginning to influence Tamil bards.

Imayavaramban Neduñjēral Ādan :

From the padigam we learn that Neduñjēral was the son of Udiyañjēral by Nallini, daughter of Veļiyan Venmān. This king's greatest achievement was his sailing to an island where was planted the Kaḍambu tree, the symbol of the sovereignty of a rival monarch. Such trees were called guardian-trees (Kāval maram), and each Tamil monarch or chief grew a special tree symbolic of his power and perhaps, like a totem, mystically connected with his might. The felling of the tree was something like capturing the chief's flag. It

has been surmised that this Kaḍambu tree was identical with the Kadamba tree after which the Kadamba Kings of Banavāse got their dynastic name. This identification is not improbable, because the Kadamba kings rose to eminence in the latter half of the V century A. D. when Neduñjēral must have flourished. The praise of this achievement is the chief subject of Ode 11, the first of the second Ten, and is referred to also in the 13th, 17th and 20th odes. He carried the cut trunk in his ship and made a war-drum out of it, for such was the use to which all kings put the trunks of the 'guardian-trees' of their foes. That Neduñjēral Ādan did so is said in a simile in an Agam ode by Māmūlanār, which says that a certain noise was like "the roar of the well-tuned drum made from the Kaḍambu tree, cut, after sailing along the broad sea, by Sēral Ādan who possessed a large army."²²

Neduñjēral and vedic sacrifices :

These poems of the Padīruppattu mostly contain general eulogies of kings and princess, but a few more facts can be gleaned from them about our hero. Thus he cleared forests and built temples and made many offerings to temples.²³ Hence we may infer that Brāhmanas gained a very firm foothold in Tamil courts in the reign of this King. Perhaps on account of this, a legend arose in later times that Kandamanār, the eulogist of Neduñjēral's brother, a Kuṭṭuvan who drove (?) many elephants, performed ten yāgams with

²² சாம்பெருந் தாணைச் சேர வாதன்
மால்கட லோட்டிக் கடம்பறுத் தியத்திய
பண்ணமை முரின் கண்ணிர் தன்ன.

Agam 347, ll. 3-5.

²³ Vide p. 497 supra.

the help of this prince and was translated to Svarga along with his wife when he was performing the tenth.²⁴

Nedunjeral's military exploits :

Ode 11 also says, we "have seen with gladness your wealth, praised by many, carried on the bedecked back of the excellent elephant on whose breast there were garlands, (whose forehead was adorned by) a face-plate and whose tusk was strong and long. You quelled the valour of those who called themselves monarchs of the land between Comorin on the south and the famous Himalayas where the Āryas abound and the yak sleeps on the hills covered thick with the Oleander and dreams of the broad mountain streams and the narandam (lemon-grass ?)".²⁵ It is not easy to discover the grain of fact within this straw-heap of flattering verbrage. Possibly Nedunjeral.

²⁴ The earliest reference to this miracle is found, as usual, in that storehouse of legends, the *Śilappadigāram*, xxviii, ll. 137-139.

²⁵ மரப்புமலி பைந்தா கோடையொடு வினங்கும்
யலனுயர் மறுப்பிற் பழிநீர் யாணைப்
பொவனனி யெருத்த மேல்கொண்டு பொலிந்ததின்
பலர்புகழ் செல்வ யினிதுகண் டிருமே
கவிர்ததை சிவம்பிற் துஞ்சக் கயரி
பரந்தியம் கருவியொடு காத்தல் கனவு
மாரியர் துவன்றிய பேரிசை விமயர்
தென்னல் குமரியொட டாவிடை
மன்மீக் கூறார் மறந்தபக் கடத்தே,

Padig. 11, ll. 17-25.

marched a few miles north of the Sēra country (into the Kadamba territory or Kcāking and brought back some presents, and poets eager for reward, spoke of it as the expansion of his Empire throughout the whole of India. And they thence gave him the title of Iṃayavaramban 'he whose kingdom had the Himalayas as its boundary.'²²

Possibly as a result of this achievement Sēral Āḷan assumed the title 'One to whose broad breast, where prosperity resided, belonged the seven crowns', implying that he deprived seven kings of their crowns and melted them and made a gold necklace out of them.²³ This title also was inherited by his son, who was called also 'the Sēran, on whose breast were seven crowns.'

In the contemporary eulogy, Kumattūr Kaṇṇanār merely says that his master "quelled the valour" (whatever it may mean) of northern kings up to the Himalayan region "where the Āryas abound." As another passage shows, the description of the Himalayas as the regions of the Āryas was a conventional phrase "The rain protects and causes to flourish the (region of the) tall mountain of the Āryas where gold is found."²⁴

²² This title is applied also to Sēnguttuvan, the hero of the third canto of Silappadigāram, in xxvi. 1, 23 and xxx. 1, 161.

²³ ஸரமுடி செழிஇய திருவெழும ரகவத்த.

Padir, 14, 1, 11, 16, 1, 17.

ஸரமுடி ஸர்ப்பி செவ்விய செவ்வ.

Ih. 45, 1, 6.

மாரி புறத்தே கத்தி மாரியர்

பெரன்படு செடுவரை.

Agam, 398, II, 18-19.

But Paravar, the eulogist of Neduñjeral's son, Kuttavan, magnifies the story. He says that this Śēral Ādan "charged the Āryas so as to make them howl, cut the bent bow on the ancient Northern mountain, and captured (lit., trussed up) the ferocious kings (of that region)."²⁹

Māmūlanār, a late poet who refers in his odes to numerous kings and chiefs who preceded him in time, summarizes Neduñjeral's exploits in these words. "Śēral Ādan of the powerful drum, sailed on the sea, cut the Kaṭumbu, incised the bent bow on the Himalayas, so as to cause terror to those who lived before it, (and spread) on the plain of the fair city of Māndaī the famous jewels, the idol made of gold, and (heaps of) diamonds respectfully given to him as tribute by his enemies."³⁰

29 ஆரிய, கவந்த தாக்கிப் பேரிதைத்
தொன்றமுதிர் வடவரை வணங்குவிற் பொறித்த
வெஞ்சுனை வேந்தரைப் பிணித்தோன்

Agam, 396, ll. 16-18.

Kumattūr Kannanār's "quelled the valour" of the northern kings has in one generation grown into "trussed them up".

30 வலம்படு முரளிற் செல வாதன்
முக்கீ ரோட்டிக் கடம்பெறிச் சிவபத்த
முன்னோர் மருள வணங்குவிற் பொறித்த
வண்கல் மாந்தை முத்தத் தொன்றார்
பணிதிதை தக்த பரமசா னன்கவம்
பொன்செய பாண்ட வயிரமொடு

Agam, 127, ll. 3-9.

Neduñjeral's father was Vānavaramban, 'one who had the sky as his boundary' and the son became 'Imayavaramban' 'one who had the Himalayas as his boundary.'

Nedunjeral myths :

We thus see that the wild, vague statement in *Padirupattu* of the extension of Nedunjeral's sway upto the Himalayas has crystallized into a definite fact that he carved his bow-emblem on the top of the mountain. In the V century when on account of the rapid spread of Aryan ideas in Tamil India, Tamil poets became familiar with the Sanskrit phrase 'from the Setu to the Himalayas' they began to refer to the Abode of Snow in their poems; and they invented legends about Tamil kings conquering the whole of India and each of them carving his emblem on the Himalayas—a more permanent sign of conquest than planting a flag. This feat was attributed first to Karikāl and then extended to others. Karikāl was the first Tamil king who extended Tamil sway beyond the borders of the Tamil land. As the geographical notions of the Tamil hards were of a nebulous kind, to them whatever was beyond the Tamil land belonged to the Gangetic—Himalayan region, as to the average Englishman whatever is not 'home' is 'abroad' and Paris is as much 'abroad' as Peking. So when a Tamil king possessed real or mythical sway outside the Tamil Nādu, he carved his emblem on the top of the Himalayas. Thus Karikāl incised there his tiger, Nedunjeral, his bow, and an unnamed Pāṇḍiyan, his carp. Thus sings the *Śilappadigāram* :—"The Pāṇḍiyan, who wore the (pearl) garland (sat under) the white umbrella and ruled the earth, when the Śūlan and the Śāran who cut the tiger and the bow by the side of the carp incised on the head of the Himalayas and other kings of Jambudvīpa obeyed his behests."³¹ The poets imagined that Imayam, as they

called the range, was a solitary hill, 'a big stone'²² 'a tall mountain,'²³ and not a series of folds of the crust of the earth, one above another in an increasing series of peaks, each overtopping the one below, till the highest reaches the thinner levels of the atmosphere, and stands there relentlessly mocking human efforts to reach it. This ignorance of the geography of the Himalayas on the part of the Tamil poets is responsible for their making Karikāl reach the top of the giant mountain range and even peer beyond on Tibet and the other Tamil Kings to emulate his example.

Māmūlanār records another myth that had gathered round the name of Neduñjēral. The wealth which he brought on the backs of elephants, according to the contemporary testimony of ode 11 has by Māmūlanār's time grown into a heap of beautiful jewels, an idol of gold and a hoard of diamonds. In the Padigam annexed to this second poem of Padirupattu, devoted to Neduñjēral Ādan, the snowball has gathered more matter and become greater in size. It says, "Neduñjēral carved his bow-emblem on the Himalayas whose streams are beautiful, wielded his sceptre which shone all throughout the Tamil land, surrounded by the roaring sea, with befitting fame subjugated the Āryas who belonged to celebrated families, captured the wicked

²² கயவெழுதிய லிமய கெத்தியி
னயவெழுதிய புலியும் லிவ்ல
நாவலத்தன் பெருநின் மன்ன
சேவல் கேட்பப் பாநா சாண்ட
மாவல வெண்குடைப் பாண்டியன், *Sil*, xvii, 1-5.

²³ பெருங்கல், *Pur*, 17 l. 1.

²⁴ கெடுவரை, *Ib* 6 l. 1.

yavanas of barbarous speech, poured oil on their heads, tied their hands to their backs and took their priceless jewels and diamonds." * Verily poetic imagination plays sad tricks with history.

The colophons to Pāram 62, 63 and 368 say that the three poems were sung about Sēramān Kuḍakkō Neduñ-jēralādan and Śōḷin Vēppahraḍakkai Paruviraṟkiḷḷi, both of whom fell dead when fighting with each other. Apparently this Neduñjēralādan is different from the hero of Paḍirappattu, for he was but Kuḍakkō, ruler of the Kuḍa province. But it is doubtful whether the note in the colophon is at all reliable.

A digression on the fights of Tamil kings with Āryas :

Besides Sēralādan's fight with the Āryas (of Banavāse or Konkṣa), the later odes refer to a few more fights with Āryas, which may be taken up for discussion here. Two of them occur as similes in poems of the Marudam class. One compares the victory of the vigali who appeared in a festival clad in a leaf-garment³⁵ over the friends of a husband who tried to save him from her wiles, to the fact that " at

* அமைவர வஞலி யினையம் விந்நொறிந்
நிமிழ்கடம் வேலித் தமிழகம் வினங்கத்
தன்கோ னிரிதித் தகைசால் இந்நொறி
பேரிசை மரபி னுரியர் வணக்கி
சயனில் வன்சொல் வவனர்ப் பிணித்து
செய்தலைப் பெய்து கைபிந் கொலிஇ
வஞலியை என்சலம் வயிரமொடு கொண்டு.

Paḍir, 2nd Paḍigam, ll. 4-12.

³⁵ Vide p. 287 supra.

the famous town of Muḷḷūr the Arya (soldiers) swarmed but ran away before the unparalleled lance-brigade of Malaiyan (a Śēran), who unsheathed his bright sword and (attacked them) with his large army.³⁶ Muḷḷūr was the capital of Malayamān Tirumuḍik Kāri. The titles Malaiyan and Malayamān show that he was a scion of the Śēra dynasty. It is said that "Kāri of the beautiful spear, who wore the (heroes') anklet (on his feet), lord of Muḷḷūr, killed the strong bowman, Ori of lasting fame, and gave to the Seras the fair vāl tree as well as the jack-tree, which are the produce of the fertile (region of) the Kolli (hills) where there is an idol of the eternal goddess praised by many"³⁷. The Kolli region was ruled over by Ori before Kāri killed him. Kāri's killing of Ori was apparently an event which appealed much to the imagination of the ancients, for Kabilār, the eulogist of Kāri and other Śēras, says that the public appearance of a harlot with but a leaf garment on created an uproar, "as loud as that which rose from his enemies when Kāri entered the

36 தூரியர் துவன்றிய பீபரிசை முன்றூர்ப்
பனருடன் சுழித்த வொன்வான் மலையன்
தொருவேற் சேரடி.

Nag. 170, ll. 6-8.

37 செவ்வேன்

முன்றூர் மன்னன் சுழொழுக்காரி
செல்லா கல்லிசை நிறுத்த வல்லிம்
வேரிக் கொன்று சேரல்க் கித்த
செவ்வேற் பல்லின் பயங்கெழு கொல்லி
நிலபெறு கடவு னாக் கிய
பலச் புகழ் பாவை.

Agam. 209, ll. 11-17.

unrivalled broad streets, after killing Ori."³⁸ Kāri is called lord of Mullūr, as well as the land adjoining the Peppai (Southern Peppār;³⁹ and therefore the Āryas that fought with him must have been the Pallavas, who were trying to extend their dominions after recovering Kāñcī in the VI century A. D.

In the other simile a harlot says "may my bangles break like the army of the Āryas in the forest of Vallam where (stood) the close array of Kuṇṇṇa bowmen who rained a shower of arrows and (fought under) the Śōlas, the wielders of the victorious spear and the black buckler."⁴⁰ The Āryas referred to here must have also been Pallavas. Vallam, whose forest guarded Tanjore, is here mentioned for the first time. Very soon the two places were destined to become the capitals of the Muttaraiyar and later of the great Śōla dynasty when it was established in the middle of the IX century A. D.

³⁸ றுகித் கொன்ற கொருபெருக் தெருளித்
காரி புக்க கோர் புலம்பெரத்
கவ்வென் தன்னால்.

Nar. 320, 5-7.

³⁹ பெண்ணையம் படப்பை காகிழ கோயே.

Pur. 126, 1-23.

Mullūr is near Jirūjī, on the southern limit of the ancient Aruva Nāḍu.

⁴⁰ வென்வென்
மரசி யம்பின் மணமுத்தோற் சோழர்
வில்லிண்டு குறும்பின் வல்லத்துப் புரவிகை
யாசியர் படைவி னுடைக வென்
(கோயே)

Agam. 336, 1. 19-22.

A minor king of Madura was called Āryaṇpaḍai Kaḍanda (or tанда) Neduñjeliyan. This probably means 'Neduñjeliyan who defeated the Ārya army.' But there is no mention anywhere of his fighting with an Ārya army, so it may have been an empty title. This king is mentioned in an epilogue to the II Canto of Silappadi-gāram as the one who unjustly ordered the execution of Kovalan, was hence cursed by Kappagi and died in consequence. But as the text of the romance does not mention his name, not much weight can be given to the statement in the epilogue. One short ode is assigned to him, which says "when (one's teacher is) in difficulties, it is good to help him, to give him wealth and, without being put out by his later condition, to (continue to) learn (from him). Even a mother's mind will turn to one of those who are born from the same womb on account of his excellence. Of those that are born in the same family, the king does not welcome the oldest but follows the path of the wisest of them. Of the four castes whose different qualities are well-known, if one of a lower caste is learned, a member of a higher caste will become his pupil."⁴¹ This is very poor

⁴¹ உதறழி பதவிபு முறுபொருள் கொடுத்தும்
பித்தநிலை முனியாது கற்ற னன்றே
பிறப்போ ரன்ன வுடனவிற தன்னுஞ்
சிதப்பின் பாவான் குயுகனத் திரிபு
மொருகுடிப் பிறத்த பல்லோ ருன்னு
முத்தோன் வருக சென்ன தவரு
னறியுடை யோனு நாசஞ் செல்லும்
வேற்றமை தெரித்த காற்பா ழன்னுங்
கீழ்ப்பா லொருகன் கற்பின்
மேற்பா லொருயனு மவன்கட் படுமே

poetry and the only thing we can infer from it that the royal author must have lived after Aryan culture was firmly enthroned in the hearts of the kings and the people. The guess can be made that by men of the Brāhmaṇa caste learning from those of lower ones, the author perhaps refers to Brāhmaṇas learning Tamil poetry and grammar from Tamil scholars.

Another Pāṇḍiyan, whose title Māraṇ Vajudi and not personal name is known, and who died at Kūḍagūram, is said to have caused 'northern kings to fade.' This may be an empty boast, because no particular battle where he defeated them is mentioned. This king must have been a late one, because his eulogist is Marudan Ilaiṅganār, author of Marudakkalī in which Aryan ideas abound.

This subject has been discussed in so much detail because on the strength of these few passages, and a few more to be discussed in a later section, Krishna-swami Ayyengar has boldly constructed the theory that 'there was a series of Aryan invasions under the Mauryas and their successors the Andhras, as distinct from Aryan settlements.

Kaḍalēṭṭiya vāi keḷu Keṭṭuvan:

This 'Keṭṭuvan to whom belonged the spear with which he turned the sea back,' according to the Paḍigam at the end of the fifth Ten devoted to his praise, was the son of Nēḍuñjēral Ādan. But the line which mentions this Keṭṭuvan's mother's name is hopelessly corrupt. The passage says that he was 'the son begotten by Nēḍuñjēral the king of the Kuḍavar whose

* The Beginnings of South Indian history, p. 96.

victorious flag touched the sky and terrified the Northerners, on the *Sōlin Maṇakkīlī*.”⁴²

As one male cannot very well be the wife of another male, we have to infer that the text must be corrupt; and so long as we cannot inspect the ms. from which the editor of the poem got this line, it is impossible even to guess what the proper reading was likely to have been. Moreover no one who has seen the bad state of preservation in which the decayed and poochi-eaten palm leaf ms. of old Tamil texts are, can venture to discuss how the corruption arose in this line. M. Srinivasa Aiyangar boldly attempted to cut the gordian knot by taking *Maṇakkīlī* as *Neduñjeral*'s sister's husband.⁴³ He assumed that descent of the right to the throne from uncle to nephew, now obtaining in the Malayalam country, existed in old days. The old *Sēra* kings were Tamils, and Malayāḷi dynasties following the *Maruṇak-kattāyam* (inheritance by nephews) law rose only after the X century A. D. *Kuṭṭuvan*'s father, *Neduñjeral*, got the throne because he was the son and not the nephew of his predecessor.

Kuṭṭuvan's exploits :

The achievements of *Kuṭṭuvan* were as few as those of his father, according to the testimony of *Parṇaar*, his eulogist. As courteous post-laureates do, the father's achievements are by the poet attributed to the son. He is addressed as “*Kuṭṭuvan of the gold garland*,

⁴² வடநாடுக்கும் வான்கோய் மெய்கொடித்
குடவர் கோமான் நெடுஞ்சேர லாதற்குச்
சேரழன் மணக்கிலி வீந்த மகன்.

Padir. Padigam on the 5th Ten, ll. 1-3.

⁴³ *Tamil studies*, p. 287.

whose armies destroyed the beauty of many lands, till the noise rose loud of the drums used in numerous battles with the monarchs of the country between Comorin on the South and the Himalayas, the mountain that rises high as the northern boundary."⁴⁴ The title of the Śēran 'who wore on his breast the (garland made from) seven crowns' was also transferred from father to son.⁴⁵

Another boast of this king was that which gave him the epithet which has become a part of his full name, that of beating back the sea by throwing a spear at it. This conquest of the sea is frequently referred to. Thus "your feet with which you rode on the white-maned, fast-running horse conquered the cold sea, whose waves are breaking and where spray is produced by the beating of the wind."⁴⁶ "Besides you there will be no more kings, nor were there any before you, whose army, like the white buckler of buffalo-hide, quelled the might of the

- 44 கல்லோங்கு செடியரை
வடதிசை யெல்லை யிமய மாகத்
தென்னங் குமரியொ டாயிடை வரசர்
முரட்டைப் பெருஞ்சமத் ததைய வார்ப்பெழுச்
சொப்பல ஈட்டைத் தொல்கலி னழித்த
பேரரடு தானைப் பொலந்தார்க் குட்டிய,

Padir, 43, ll. 6-11.

- 45 எழுமுடி மார்பி னெய்திய சேரல்,

Ib. 45, l. 6.

- 46 காலுனைக் கடும்பிடு ருடைய வாலுனைக்
கடும்பிப் புரவி யூர்த்ததின்
படுத்திரைப் பணிச்சுட னுழத்த தானே.

Padir, 41, ll. 25-27.

bows of enemies. No one else could throw the spear bright like a shining gem and conquer the cold sea, which does not diminish by clouds taking water from it and increase by rivers flowing into it, on which the waves roar, when it is beaten by the moving wind and the large, full cloud shines."⁴⁷ The poet returns to the subject in the next ode and calls the king, "Kuttuvan, famous for victory, who throw the spear so as to agitate the sea which contains the chank shell fit for blowing, which is broad and whose waves are (constantly) breaking."⁴⁸ Once more the poet calls him "the Paradava (sailor) on the cold sea, who established undying fame by going on the sea and fighting with it."⁴⁹

It is difficult to guess what this oft repeated eulogy means. Kuttuvan's spear did apparently succeed in doing what Canute's loudly-uttered order could not. Probably

தெய்வர்

- 47 கிலவியை யடக்கிய முரி செண்டோ
வனைய பண்பித் துணைமன்ன
ரினியா ருளரோதின் முன்னு லில்லை
மழைகொளக் குறையாது புனல்புக றிறையாது
விலங்குவளி கடவுள் துளங்கிருங் கமஞ்சுல்
வயங்குமணி யிமைப்பின்வே லிடுபு
முழங்குதிரைப் பனிக்கடன் மதுத்திடுஞோரே

Ib. 46, ll. 15-22.

- 48 கோடுதால் பெளவங் கலங்க வேலிட்
டுடைதிரைப் பாப்பிற் படுகட லோட்டிய
வென்புகழ்ச் சூட்டுவன்.

Ib. 46, ll. 11-13.

- 49 கடலரும் பல்புகழ் கிலவி நீர்புகுஞ்
கடலொ டுழந்த பனித்தரைப் பாதவ.

Ib. 48, ll. 3-4.

the throwing of the spear was solemnly performed by him as a symbol of Kuṭṭivan's lordship of the sea. Parapar returns to the subject in an occasional ode, " Kuṭṭivan, not finding an enemy worthy to fight with, became angry, with martial might besieged the sea, and with his magnificent spear drove back the sea whose waves rise high.' ²⁰ In later times this same feat of driving back the sea by throwing his spear at it was also attributed to a Pāṇḍyan, who was hence called V.ḍimbalamba nirṇāpāṇḍyan, ' the Pāṇḍiyan who stood while the sea washed the edges (of his feet).' (Vide p. 240 *supra*; also commentary on Puṇam 9 and the modern editor's note on line 10 of the above poem). The references show how a simple sea festival became magnified into this feat.

It is just possible that the Sēra country, having been brought under Aryan influence in the time of Nāḍuñjēral, he was fired with zeal by the story of Parasurāma's flinging a spear against the sea to make it retreat and the king emulated the example of that Brāhmin warrior; and later on when the sthalapurāṇam of wadura was evolved, the feat was extended to a Pāṇḍiya king and the story of Ukkira Pāṇḍiyan obtaining a consecrated spear from the Śivan of Madura and, by throwing it, drying up the sea which had presumed to wash the edges of his feet, was evolved, as narrated in Tiruvēlavāyūḍaiyar's Tiruvilaiyāḍi purāṇam, xxi. 6.

80

குட்டுவன்

பொருமுதல் பெருஅது விலக்குவென்று நினைத்து
செருச் செய் முன் ஸபாடு முக்கீர் முற்றி
யோங்குதி கரப் பெளய கீங்க யோட்டிய
கீழை வெண்கீகம்,

Agam. 212. II. 16-20.

Several modern-day Tamil scholars say that Vaḍimbalamba ninn Pāṇḍiyan is referred to in Puṇam; that is wrong, for he is merely mentioned in V. Swāmināda Iyer's foot-note on the phrase 'the king who celebrated the sea-festival' *munnir viḷavi neḍiyōn*, in l. 10 of Puṇam 9.

Kuṭṭuvan and Mōgūr :

The one genuine martial exploit of Kuṭṭuvan is described in the following terms :—He declared Arurai, victor in battles who wore the thin creeper of *uḷṇai* (i.e., was besieged), though far from him, to be his friend. To relieve him from the sorrow of going away and concealing himself, (the king) took upon himself the work of destroying forts and captured the drum of the lord of Mōgūr who spread disaster. He quelled the boastful words (of the lord of Mōgūr, cut off the trunk of the margosa (Mōgūr's tree), broke it into small bits for making drums out of them, and yoked many elephants to his cart. The urns in which were buried many kings who possessed drums and ruled joyfully over the broad earth and the bright sea and who were defeated (by Kuṭṭuvan) filled the graveyard where under the vanni tree the mourners sit and where the female owl twits the crested male owl for having forgotten where he dropped his piece of lean meat."⁵¹

- 51 நண்கொடி புழினை யெம்போ ரற்கை
சேன னாயினுக் கேனென வொழிந்த
புலம்பெயர்ச் சொலித்த கனையா பூசற்
கரண்டா யுதி இ யணக்குரிகழ்ந் தன்ன
மோகூர் மன்னன் முரசுக் கொண்டு
கெடுமொழி பவரித்தவன் வேம்புமுத நடித்து
முரசுசெய முரச்சிக் கவிதபல பூட்டி

Apparently Mōgūr was helped by a number of petty chieftains in the fight. For it is said, "Several victorious kings and chiefs whose fierce front ranks could capture the leaders (of the armies of their enemies) who discharged lances and swarmed in the fight, vowed (to help him) and so Mōgūr rushed to the battle, proud of his strength. The warriors (of Kuṭṭavan) crowded so as to shake the assembled warriors, and reddened their hands with the blood (of Mōgūr's followers). The red blood spread on the ground, filled pits there as the stream does during the rains, and was filled with fallen corpses. They destroyed the land, sounded the spotted⁵² drum, looted the country: and many inhabitants died. The ferocious Kuṭṭavan then cut the strong neem-tree with black boughs."⁵³

மொழுகை புய்த்த கொழுவில் கைபந்துணி
கைத்தலில் மறத்த றுய்த்தலில் கடை
கயலை கயந்துக் குரலும் பறந்தலை
முருகடைத் தாயத் தாகபல வேட்டித்
துளங்குநீர் வியலக மாண்டினிது கழிந்த
மன்னர் மறைத்த தாழி
வன்னி மன்றத்து விளங்கிய காடே.

Padir. 44, ll. 10-23

⁵² The black mark on the side of the drum, caused by beating it with the wand is called its 'eye.'

⁵³ எஃகுதூர் தெழுதருவ கைகயர் கடுத்தர்
வெல்போர் வேந்தரும் வேலிரு மொன்றமொழிந்து
மொய்வளஞ் செருக்கி மொசிந்துவரு மேகூர்
வலம்படு குழுகலில் யுடு மண்டி
கெய்த்தோர் தொட்ட செக்கை மறவர்
கிறம்படு குருதி கிவம்படர் தோடி

Padir. 49, ll. 6-17.

In Poṭṭu 369 Parānar has sung this Kuṭṭuvan's fight, in the form of an allegory, where every incident of the battle is described as an incident of agricultural operations: but as the poem has only a literary and not a historical interest, it need not be quoted here.

Kuṭṭuvan Myths:

The Epilogue to the Fifth Ten contains allusions to several of Kuṭṭuvan's feats not referred to in the text. They are as follows:—"Desiring to get a stone for (making the image of) the goddess of chastity, he went like an arrow through forests where the wind blows, felled the Ārya king, bathed in the famous Ganges into which many streams flow, captured many cows and calves swarming there, camped in Idumbil, full of strong arrows, killed enemies like a tiger, pounded the town of Viyalūr (full of clusters of lilies, went on the other side and destroyed Kodugūr, cut the trunk of the black-boughed neem tree guarded by Paḷayān, made ropes of the many tufts of black hair of many women who had discarded their bright ornaments (their husbands having been killed in the battle, they shaved their heads and cast aside their jewels) and with the ropes thus made yoked elephants to the cart, (for carrying the blocks of neem wood), encamped

மனமுரட புணலி னயற்பரத் தொழுதப்
படுபிணக் கிறங்கப் பாழ்பல செய்து
படுகண் முரசு - றியட் சிலைப்ப
வனனற சிகழ்த்து வரமுசர் பலர்படக்
கருஞ்சினை விநல்வேய் பறத்த
பெருஞ்சினக் குட்டுவன்.

Padir. 49, II, 6-17.

near (Nēri) Vāyil and killed nine princes belonging to the Śōḷa house in a terrible battle."⁵⁴

The first four lines of this extract contain matter taken from the Śilappadigāram account of the expedition into North India of Śēraṇ Śenguttavan, whom the writer of this Padigam, following the author of Śilappadigāram identifies with Kaḍalūṭṭiya Vel Keḷu Kuṭṭavan. The next five and the last four refer to fights not described in any of the early odes, but alluded to in Śilappadigāram, with this difference that he inverts the order of the incidents.⁵⁵ The other lines deal with the fight of the Śēra monarch with Paḷaiyan, but introduce the story of the elephants being made to pull the blocks of

54 கடவுட் பரதனாஃ கதகோக வேண்டத்
காளில் காளங் கணையிற் போய்
பாசிய வண்ணில வீட்டப் பேரிதை
யின்ப லருவிற் கங்கை மண்ணி
யினர் தெரி பல்வான் கன்றொடு கொண்டு
மாறு வல்வி லிதம்பிற் புரத்திறத்
துறுபுலி யன்ன வயவந் விழத்
செறுதர செவ்வல வியலந் தாதி
யக்கரை பண்ணிக் கொடுக கொறித்து
பழையன் கரக்குங் கருஞ்சினை வேம்பின்
முரளை முழுமுத றாயியப் பண்ணி
வரவினழ கழித்த றும்பல் பெண்டிர்
பல்லிருங் கடத்தல் முரற்சியாத்
ருஞ்சர கொழுநை பூட்டி வெத்திற்
லசராச் செருவிற் செரழர் கடிச் சுகியோ
செரணபதினமர் வீழ வரவிற்புறத் திறத்து.

Padig. Padigam, 5th Ten, ll. 4-20

55 Vide Śil. xxviii, ll. 115-119. The war with the Śōḷa princes is alluded to also in Śil. xxvii, ll. 118-123.

neem timber with ropes made of women's hair. The introduction of this absurd detail vividly shows how men of a later generation tried to improve on a story coming down from old times, by letting loose their fancy and inventing stupid embellishments. Modern scholars are too prone to swallow every ridiculous legend, by giving it the name of 'tradition.' If the original poet had put in this thing in his poem, one might call it an excusable exaggeration by a flattering courtier; but if a commentator of several hundred years later puts it in, it must be due but to unlicensed fancy.

A digression on the "Mauryan invasion" of the Tamil country:

About fifteen years ago, M. Raghava Iyengar brought to light from the Agam Four hundred, then not yet printed, three passages in which the word 'Mōriyar' occurs. The chief passage says, "On the day of the shattering of the wear-front, when the Kōsar, who had decorated chariots fast as the wind, (flying) a flag of victory, unfastened and sounded the sweet-sounding drum in the assembly-place under the big boughs of the old wellgrown banyan tree, as Mōūr did not submit, the mountain-pass shining with streams was lowered so that the wheel of the decorated chariot of the Mōriyar, who newly came as enemies with the elephant-brigade, might roll." ⁵⁶ There is no means of knowing whether this

⁵⁶ கெங்கொடித்

குணைகா லன்ன புனைதேர்க் கேசர்

தொன்மு தாலத் தரும்பிணப் பொகிலி

வின்றிசை முரசைக் கடிப்பிகுத் திரங்கத்

தெய்முனை சிதைத்த ஞானவற மேகூர்

arrogant Mōgūr was the same man as was punished by Kuṭṭuvan or merely a namesake of his; but this is certain that certain Mōriyar came as his enemies, sending Keśar in advance to demand his submission. The Kōśar were inhabitants of the Tulu country.⁸⁷ The

பண்மர மைலிற் பணகதில் ஈந்த
மாமெழு நரனை கம்ப மேரிகல்
புனைதேர் வேய் யுருவிய குறைத்த
விளங்குவென் னருவிய வரைகாய்.

Agam. 251, ll. 6-11.

87 மெய்ம்மலி பெரும்பூட் செம்மந் கோசர்
கொம்மமயம் பகங்காய் குடுய் லினைத்
பாக வர்ணைப் பறைக்கட் பீலித்
தேரணைக் காவித் துருகாட் புண்ண

Agam 15, ll. 2-5.

Like the Tulu country of the excellent Kōśar whose bodies are fully adorned with jewels, in whose forest the peacock, with spots like the side of a drum, pecks at the well-grown, magnificent, green jack-fruits (hanging from its) tuft-like stem." From this passage combined with another, which says, "who will part from you for earning wealth, even if thereby one would obtain the sevenfold hill, the fair land of Nannan of Keṅkānam?" S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar has inferred

கொண்காள னன்ன னன்னுட்
தேழிற் குன்றம் பெரிதும் பெருஞ்சுவின்
யாரே பிசிந்த பகலே.

Nar 391, ll. 6-7.

that the Tulu land or Keṅkānam was "the territory of Nannan" and "was broken into by a new people called Kōśar as the result of a war in which Nannan obviously suffered defeat, and lost his state-elephant." (Beginnings

Kōsar from the Tuḷu land kept making incursions into the Koṅgu land and founded Coimbatore (Kōyambuttūr, the new town of the Kōsar). North the Tuḷu land of the Kōsar lay the territory of the Mauryas, perhaps "descendants of some branch of the Maurya dynasty of Pāṭaliputra," and foes of Kirtivarman I of the Cālukya dynasty (566 A. D. — 597 A. D.).⁵⁸ These Mauryas were the only possible Mōriyar, who in conjunction with the Kōsar, could have attempted a raid into the Tamil country.

The authors of the odes in which the Mōriyar are mentioned were not concerned with the solitary, unimportant raid of the combined army of the Kōsar and the Mōriyar but only with the fact that the hill which was cut down for their chariots-wheels to roll along was a

of South Indian History, pp. 84-85). To prove the last clause, he quotes a passage, which means, "it is necessary to employ cruel stratagems like those of the Kōsar who stick to their vow and who cut off the sweet-smelling mango-tree of Nannan and took it to their land."

நமர் கொன்று நாட்டிற் போகிய
கொன்றுமொழிக் கோசர் போல
வன்சட் குழ்ச்சியும் வேண்டும்.

Kur. 73 ll. 2-5.

The editor of Kupundogai explains 'naruṁā,' sweet-smelling mango tree, as 'state-elephant' and Krishna-swami Ayyangar accepts the interpretation, forgetting the word 'naru' and the fact that the Kōsar would have been fools if they had carried the corpse of an elephant to their country.

⁵⁸ Bom. Gaz. I. ii. p. 287.

distant one, beyond which the lover who was intent on earning wealth went.

The second passage dealing with this subject runs thus:— 'The hill which was lowered so that might roll the wheel, decorated with gold, of the Mōriyar whose chariot moved on the hill which was so tall as to reach the sky.'⁸⁹ The third passage is by Māmulanār, the author of the first and says "In front went the Vadugar, strong fighters with arrows which fly fast with a roaring sound and cause pain when fitted to the edge of the string of the bow powerful enough to pierce the sky and adorned with the feathers shed by the languid-looking peacock which has a wobbling gait. So that the Mōriyar might reach the south, the cold black hill rising aloft to the sky was lowered for enabling the bright-felloed wheel to roll."⁹⁰ The Kōśār are called here Vadugar; the latter name, literally meaning 'Northerners', was used for all people who lived to the North

⁸⁹ வின்பொரு செடுவரை வியதேந் மோரியர்
பொன்புனை திகிலி திரிதகக் குறைத்த
வரை.

Agam. 69, ll. 10-12.

⁹⁰ துல்கியன் மடமயி னொழித்த ிலி
வான்போழ் வல்லித் தந்தி கோன்னை
யவ்வார் விரிம்பித் தமைத்த கொங்கியற்
களை குர விரைக்கும் விரைசெயற் கருக்கனை
முரண்டிரு வுகக் முன்னுற மோரியர்
தென்றிசை மாதிர முன்னிய வறவிற்கு
விண்ணுற யோங்கிய பளியிருக் குன்றந்
தொண்கதிர்த் திகிலி புருவிய குறைத்த
வரை.

Agam. 281, ll. 4-12

of the Tamils viz., the Telugas, the Kannaḍas and the Tujus.

The last passage about the Mōriyar is found in Puṇam and refers to "the mountain-pass which forms the corridor of the world which was lowered so that might roll the strong-felloed wheel of the Mōriyar, who possessed a victorious spear, a tall umbrella which reached the sky and a chariot on which flew the flag."⁶¹

The theory of the "Mauryan invasion of India" in the reign of Chandragupta or Bindusāra rests on these four passages. Possibly as a prop for the theory, S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar assumes that these passages are "ascribable to the first century of the Christian era,"⁶² and says that "there is enough internal evidence to show that Māmūlanār was the exact contemporary of the chola ruler, Karikāl."⁶³ He does not tell us what that "internal evidence" is. He alludes to the fact that when Peruñjēral Āḍan, the foe of Karikāl, committed suicide, his courtiers heard of it and they also committed suicide.⁶⁴ This will make Māmūlanār belong to an age later, how much later we cannot say, than Karikāl. As a matter of fact Māmūlanār speaks in many odes as the contemporary, not of any of the kings referred to in

⁶¹ வெண்வேல்

வின்பொரு ளெங்குகொடைச் சேடித்

தேம் மோரியர்

திணைதீர்த்த் திவிரி திரிதரம் குறைத்த

யுறக விடைகழி யறைவரம்.

Puṇ. 175 ll. 5-8.

⁶² Beginning of South Indian History, p. 85.

⁶³ Ib. p. 87.

⁶⁴ Vide p. 483 supra.

Chapters XX, XXI, and XXIII and in this chapter, but of the numerous chieftains that rose to power after the decline of the three Tamil dynasties at the end of the V century A. D. and is hence the latest of the galaxy of poets whose poems are included in the early anthologies.

S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar also makes the tide of Mauryan invasion reach "Madura and the Podiyil hill,"⁵⁵ This conclusion is due to a misunderstanding of the word 'podiyil' in the passage quoted above.⁵⁶ 'Podiyil' cannot mean 'Podiyil hill' in any of the passages referring to their appearance, for the 'podiyil' where they appear was under an old, well-grown banyan tree, a position too cramped for the hill where the deathless Agastya and his disciples are residing.

Before closing the discussion I will quote two more passages from the many odes referring to the Kōṣar in early Tamil literature, because they have a bearing on the question. The first again is a simile, which means, "like the vow of the Kōṣar of Nallūr, who appeared in the assembly beneath the old well-grown banyan tree, where the god resides, while drums were sounded and chank-shells were blown."⁵⁷ All these references are only to one event—the appearance of the Kōṣar with dramatic suddenness as the advance-guard of the Mōriyar. The other passage says, "As the four-tongued Kōṣar appeared in the assembly place of

⁵⁵ Beginnings of South Indian History p. 81.

⁵⁶ Vide p. 520 supra.

⁵⁷ பறைபடப் பணிலு முர்ப்ப விறைகொன்பு
தொன்ற தாலத்துப் பொதியிற் றேன்றிய
கங்குலக் கோசர் கன்மொழி போல. Kur, 15, 11.

Paḷaiyan's Mōgūr, where the crops never fail, because the rains never cease."⁶⁶ 'Four-tongued' apparently means that they could speak four languages, Tulu, Kannada, Telugu, and Tamil; these four languages can be heard even to-day in the streets of Coimbatore. The commentator rearranges the phrase as மொழி நால் கோசர், 'the four kinds of Kōsar, who stick to their vows'. This is a forced interpretation; moreover the division of the Kōsar into four kinds is unknown otherwise.

Other Sēra notables:

The Paḍiṟupattu deals with many other Sēra notables and the Puṟam refers to some more. They possess some of the following titles, Poṟaiyan, Malaiyan, Vāṇavan, Iṁayavaramban, Kuṟṟuvan, Kōḍai, and Villavan. They were not monarchs and the poems dealing with them have no historical, but only a biographical, interest; so these chiefs need not be referred to here.

⁶⁶ மகழ யாழக் கருவுப் பிழையா வினைபுட்
பழையன் மொக நையவசம் வினங்க
நான்மொழிக் கோசர் தேன்றி யன்ன.

Maduraikkāṇṇi II. 507-585.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE ECLIPSE OF THE EARLY DYNASTIES.

The last Pāṇḍiya and Śōla Kings :

It is significant that the commentator on *Ṭṭaiyaṇār Agapporai* makes *Ukkirapperuvaludi* the last of the Pāṇḍiyas who maintained a Śāgam. From this we may deduce that probably some misfortune temporarily cut off the ancient line of the Pāṇḍiyas. *Irāsasūyam Vēṭṭa Perumarkilli*, according to the colophon attached to *Perum 367*, was a friend of *Ukkirapperuvaludi*. Probably with this *Perumarkilli* the Śōla line too was interrupted, for the poets that sang after the age of these kings, like the author of *Śirupāṇṇappadai*, did not sing in praise of Pāṇḍiya or Śōla kings but of minor chieftains who seem to have risen to prominence after the decline of these ancient dynasties; and when they do refer to the traditional kingdoms of the Śōlas or the Pāṇḍiyas, like the authors of *Kalittogai*, they speak generally of kings and do not name any reigning monarch. We may therefore believe that some catastrophe threw into the shade the power of these ancient dynasties at about the time of these two kings.

The rise to popularity of the Jaina and Bauddha cults :

The Ārya cults, especially the Bauddha and the Jaina ones, were practised in the outskirts of the town in the time of *Neṭuñṇiyan*.¹ The old Tamil cults were the main ones patronized by kings. In 470

¹ Vide p. 452 *Supra*.

A D. however, a Jaina congregation was, apparently established in the city of Madura.² As this fact has been specially recorded by a Jaina writer, we may take it that this was a case of an Aryan cult first finding royal favour and attaining to a position of prominence in the Tamil land.

To this may be added another fact that a similar high position was accorded to the Bauddha cult in the city of Kāverippattinam about the same time. In the last quarter of the V century A. D. Buddhādatta, elder contemporary Buddhaghosa, composed Bauddha works in the Śōla country. In the concluding lines of his Abhidhammāvatāra, he says, "In the lovely Kāveripattana, crowded with hordes of men and women not belonging to impure castes, endowed richly with all the requisites of a town, with crystal clear water flowing in the river, filled with all kinds of precious stones, possessed of many kinds of bazaars, beautified with many gardens, (and in a beautiful and pleasant monastery adorned with a mansion as high as the peak of Kailāsa, built by Kaṣhadāsā, having different kinds of beautiful entrance-towers in its outer wall, while I was living in an old house there, by me who am shining with qualities, such as writing beautifully on good topics, who am intelligent and good and a beggar, this was composed and propounded extensively."³ After the closing benedictory lines, some

² Vide p. 247 supra.

³ Nara nāriganākinnaḥ asankinna kulākule
Phite sabhaṅga sampanne pasanna saritādake
Nānārātana sampunne vividhūpaga saṅkato
Kāveripattane ramme nānārāmo ' pasobhite

later writer has added the colophon, 'This work named *Abhidhammāvātara* was composed by Bhadanta Buddhadatta Ācariya, inhabitant of Uragapuram (Uṇaiyūr).'

In the closing passage of the *Vinayavinicchaya*, Buddhadatta says, "In the undisturbed town of *Bbūta-maṅgala*, containing all kinds of people, which was the navel of the great *Cōḷa* kingdom, and filled with groves of plantains, salwood, palmyra, and cocoanuts, shining with tanks densely covered with lotuses and lilies and whose soil is sanctified by the flowing waters of the *Kāverī*, blessed with prosperity and all the requisites of a town, in the beautiful and pleasant monastery, surrounded by well-built outer walls and moat, belonging to *Veṇḍadāsa*, brilliant with *vāṇīra* trees lining the banks (of the river), rejoicing the mind with many gardens filled with different kinds of birds, adorned with tanks thickly enveloped with pleasing lotuses, beautified with excellent wells full of sweet water, filled with excellent *maṇḍapas*, well-built, wide, white, very bright with many houses, the surface of the earth being broken by tall *stūpas* which outrivalled and derided the rough peaks of *Kailāsa*, and were high, beautiful, and bright

Kelāsa sikarākāra pāsāda pati maṇḍite
Kārite kaphadāsona dassaniye manorame
Vihāra vividhākāraṇāra pākāra gopure
Tatha pācinapāsāde mayā nivasatā satā
Ramma sallekha sūkhalya siladī guṇa sobhinā
Ayam sumatinā sādhu yācitena kato tato.

Abhidhammāvātara, Śī, 1409-1413.

* *Uragapura nivāsikena Ācariyena bhadanta Buddhadattena kato Abhidhammāvātāro nāmāyam*. By 'inhabitant of Uragapura' is probably meant a native of that city.

like autumn clouds, by me who lived (there) in a mansion which clarifies the mind, was composed in honour of Buddhasimha this compilation on the principles of Vinaya taught by Buddhasimha, for the sake of my pupils and for the good of the Bhikkhus who want to learn the Vinaya in a short time without difficulty. It was begun and finished during the reign of the blemishless Accuta Vikkanta of the Kalabbha kula."²

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- * Setṭhassa Colaraṭṭhassa nābhībhūte nirākule
 Sabbassa pana lokassa gāme sampiṇḍite viya
 Kadaliśālātālucchunālikaravanākule
 Kamaluppalasaññhannasaliṭṭhasayasobhite
 Kāverijalasampātaparipūtamahītale
 Iddhe sabbāṅgasampānne maṅgale Bhūtemaṅgale
 Pavārākārapākāraparikhāparivārīte
 Vihāre Venhudāsassa dassaniye manorame
 Tīrantaruhavānīratarurājivirājite
 Nānādi jagapārāme nānārāmananorame
 Cārupaṅkajasaṅkinnatāḷāsasamalanākate
 Surasodakasampanṇavarakūpopasobhite
 Uggatena ca thūpena bhetvā va dharanītalām
 Jitvā v' avahasantena Kheḷāsasikharamkharam
 Saradambudasāṅkāse dassaniye sammussite
 Pasūlajanane ramme pāsāde vasatā mayā
 Vuttassa Buddhasīhena Vinayassa Viniechayo
 Buddhasīham samuddissa mama saddhivihārikam
 Kato' yam pana bhikkhūnam hitatthāya samāsato
 Vinayassāvabodhattham sukhen'evācīrena ca
 Accut' Accutavikkante Kalabbhakulanaandane
 Mahim samanussāsante āradho ca samāpito.

Inferences from Buddhadatta's testimony :

From the two passages taken from Buddhadatta's works, printed under the editorship of his modern namesake, A. P. Buddhadatta of Ceylon (the first in 1915 and the second in 1928), we see that in the last quarter of the V century A. D., when the ancient Buddhadatta lived and taught, Kāvīrippūmbattinam was a very prosperous city, crowded with people, full of precious things and bazaars. This description of Kāvīrippūmbattinam incidentally proves that the destruction of the city by the sea, and its desertion by its inhabitants, described in the *Manimāgalai* (xxv. ll. 199-204.) is either pure romance or took place sometime after the V century. Rapid must have been the advance to popularity of the Bauddha cult in Kāvīrippattinam since Karikāl's time, for fine monasteries to be built by lay admirers like Kaṇhadāsa. The king who overthrew the Śōla dynasty must have also been an admirer of the Bauddha cult and actively encouraged the building of monasteries for its monks. This king, who is called Accuta-Vikkanta in the *Vinaya vinicchaya* apparently ruled over the whole of the Śōla territory, for we find monasteries built also inland at Bhūtamaṅgala. The modern representative of this town is Eūdalūr near Trichinopoly.^a The region immediately north of this village fits in with the description of Buddhadatta. In the region near, served by the road which leads from Tanjore to Nāmakkal, numerous relics of the Bauddha and the Jaina cults have been unearched. Till recently this region contained great centres of Aryan learning.

^a I owe this idea to K. R. Subrahmanya Iyer of Vijayanagaram.

Accuta Vikkanta belonged to the Kalabbha dynasty. The printed text prefers the reading Kaḷambha because I suppose the editor had heard of the Kadamba dynasty and not of the Kalabbhas, but the Kadambas ruled at far Banavāso nor were they Bauddhas, Kalabbha, the alternative reading, has been adopted by me, because at about this time ruled a great king of the Kaḷappa clan and the Tamil name Kaḷappa naturally become Kalabbha in Pali.

In Tamil literature there is mention of ancient Kaḷappa kings and a Kaḷappa clan as existing till comparatively recent times. The father of Meygaṇḍadēvar, the founder of the modern Tamil Śaivism in the thirteenth century, was called Accuta kaḷappālar. This fact directed my attention to the Kaḷappāla clan and led me to note that the Accuta Kaḷabbha of Buddha-datta must have belonged to this Tamil clan.

In the Tamil Nāvalar śaridai[†], p. 56, there occur four vaṇbāis, said to have been composed, the first by a Śēraṇ, the second by a Śēlan, and the other two by a Pāṇḍiyan, all of whom were put in chains, as the colophon informs us, by one Accuta Kaḷappālan. The first runs as follows:—“The Tinal seeds will be drying in the front yards of those who grow the Tinal; the front yards of those who raise the fair paddy will be filled with those (grains). In the front yards of Accudan are waiting kings who possess the strong chariot-brigade, while the drums roar and the shank is blown.”[‡]

[†] I have referred to this book in p. 414 ante as Tamil Nāvalar varalāṅgu; though varalāṅgu and śaridai are synonyms the above is the usual name of the book.

[‡] தினைவினைத்தார் முற்றந் தினையுணங்குஞ் செஞ்செல்
நனைவினைத்தார் முற்றமது தானுங் — கவிசேர்

The second stanza, by a Śōla king, runs as follows:—
On the day when in the front yard of Accudan, the forehead-mark of the royal dynasty, (the bright mark on the forehead is the most prominent feature of the face) kings were reborn (restored to sovereignty ?), the noise of the striking off of the gyves from the legs of kings drowned that of the beating of the drums."⁹ The first stanza sung by the Pāṇḍiyan was:—"Where can there be men without distress? Irāman of the sharp spear waited for a whole six months in the hill belonging to the younger brother of Vāli. Accordingly (I am waiting) before Accudan whose army is roaring and garland waving." As the Pāṇḍiyan, by comparing himself to Irāman and Accudan to the monkey-follower of Irāman, insulted the Kaḷappāla monarch, the latter doubled the Pāṇḍiyan's fetters; so the Pāṇḍiyan sang again:—"Accudan, of the Southern Tillai, the drum roaring in front of you was called the western ocean by the people of Kuḍagu, and the northern ocean by those to the left of them; people living on the borders of the north sea called it the south sea."¹⁰ The Southern Tillai, where

முரசுணங்கச் சங்குணங்க முரித்தேர்த்தாளை
அரசுணங்கு மச்சதன் முற்றத்து.

⁹ அரசு குலதிலக னச்சதன்முற் றத்தில்
அரசு எய்தரித்த வர்கான் — முரசுதிரக்
கொட்டிவிடு மோசையினுங் கோவேந்தர்

காற்றினையை

கொட்டிவிடு மோசை யிகும்.

¹⁰ குறையுளா செங்கிரார் கடர்வே லிராமன்
சிறையாறு திலக னிருத்தான் - முறைமையால்
ஆவிக்குந் தாளை யலங்குதா ரச்சதமுன்
வாலிக் கிணையான் வரை.
குடகர் குணகடவென் றுர்த்தார் குடகர்

these kings were assembled, is Chidambaram, where the coronation of Śōja monarchs was celebrated since they were Aryanized. Probably Accutan started this fashion, the temple of Chidambaram having by his time obtained a reputation for holiness.

This Accuta Kaṭappālan must be the same as Accuta Kaṭabbha of Buddhadatta. For the Pāṇḍiyas again rose to power at the end of the VI century, and the Pallavas having recovered Kāñci in the middle of that century, we can find room for a Kaṭappa who was overlord of the whole of the Tamil country only between 450 A. D., and 550 A. D. It is not a valid objection to say that the same monarch could not have patronized the Śaiva, Bauddha, and Jaina cults and got himself crowned at the Śiva temple at Tillai, and supported the Bauddha Vihāras in the Śōja territory and the Draviḍa Jaina Saṅgam at Madura. In the early days when the Ārya cults spread in South India, there was little animosity amongst them. Their quarrels began only after 600 A. D., when sectarian rivalry was first born. Mahendra Vikrama Pallava built stone-temples to the Jina, to Śiva, to Viṣṇu and to the Trimūrti. It was in his time that we hear of the first quarrel between Jainas and Śaivas. A century later we notice Vaiṣṇavas deriding Śiva and Śaivas speaking of Viṣṇu without respect, but before 600 A. D. when the followers of the Āryan cults were gaining mastery we do not hear of their opposing each other. We may

கிடயர் யடகடவென் ஞர்த்தார் — யடகடல்
தென்கடவென் ஞர்த்தார் தென்தில்லையச்சு
நாநின் தன்
முன் கடைநின் ஞர்க்கு முரசு.

therefore take it that Accuda Kaḷappāla and Accuta Kaḷabbha were one and the same person.

The Vēlvikkūḍi grant, discussed in chapter xxiii tells us that a cruel king, called Kaḷabhra, i. e., of the Kaḷabhra clan (because both the forms Kaḷabhran and Kaḷabhrar occur indiscriminately), defeated many Ādirājas, original (Tamil) monarchs, and established his sway over Madura, among other Tamil districts. Since the Pali Kaḷabbha will invariably become Kalabhra in Sanskrit, it follows that the Kalabhra king of the Vēlvikkūḍi charter is identical with Accuta Kaḷabbha and Accuda Kaḷappāla. Notwithstanding the completeness of Accuta Kaḷabbha's subjugation of the Tamil country, the old dynasties were not extirpated. The Pāṇḍiyas regained their greatness under Kaḷungōn before 600 A. D.; and Coḷas, Cēras, Pāṇḍiyas and Kaḷabhras are mentioned for two centuries later, in several inscriptions, as the foes first of the Pallavas and then of the Cōḷukyas.

The Kaḷappālas were Tamil chieftains, as is proved by the fact that the three Rājas sang to them in Tamil. They were completely Aryanized because they encouraged the Aryan cults; and the Aryan cults which had been besieging the out-skirts of Tamil culture for many centuries dramatically captured the Tamil imagination from the time when the three old dynasties, patrons of the old order of things, collapsed before the might of Accuta.

Were the Kalabhras Kaḷḷar?

S. Krishnaswami Iyengar has given his support to the theory that the Kaḷabhras were the Kaḷḷar of old Tamil poetry. Kaḷḷar has an alternative form Kaḷvar,

and Kaḷvar, being usually written in ancient mss. without the dot on the head of ḷ, became kaḷavar, which turned into kaḷabar, kaḷabara, kaḷabhara, and ultimately into kaḷabbha. But since Kaḷabbha has been discovered in a Pali poem, we need not resort to this ingenious etymology; all the more so, because there is no evidence that the kaḷvar were anything more than petty chieftains in old times.

A note on Kaḷappāḷar:

A number of Kaḷappāḷar besides the father of Meygāṇḍa dēvar has been traced in Tamil literature. One Nerkuṇṇam kiḷṇu, a Kaḷappāḷa raja has been brought to our notice by S. Sōmasundara Dēsiḡar in an inscription¹¹ which he discovered sixteen years ago. Kūṟṟuva Nāyanār, one of the Sixty three Śaiva Śaints is called a Kaḷappāḷan by Nambiyāṇḍār Nambi (X century) in his Tiruttoṇḍar Tiruvandādi.¹² This person is called Kaḷandai Mudalvanār, 'lord of Kaḷandai' by Śēkkiḷār (XI century),¹³ and Kaḷandai Vēndar, king of Kaḷandai (Periyapurāṇam, Kūṟṟuvanāyanār Purāṇam, st. 1, l. 4) and Kaḷandai in Umāpati-Śivām's Tiruttoṇḍar Purāṇa śāram. From this we may infer that the Kaḷappāḷar originally belonged to Kaḷandai, a well-known Siva shrine in the Tanjore district. Probably the suffix āḷar is the same as the suffix of the Tamil word Andapāḷar, a formation from andapar, the Tamil word for Brāhmaṇa, for which several fanciful etymologies, none very convincing, have been invented by the commentators. Kaḷappāḷar, then, is a variant of Kaḷappa, which became Kaḷabbha in Pali and Kaḷabhra in (Southern) Sanskrit.

¹¹ Śendamiḷ. Vol. xii, p. 268.

¹² St. 47, l. 4.

¹³ St. 44, l. 1.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE LATER OF THE TEN SONGS.

The Remaining Six Songs :

Four of the poems gathered together under the name of Pattuppāṭṭu have been already discussed. The other six are later and belong to the VI century A. D. This is proved by the fact that the references in those poems to Aryan concepts are not of the nature of passing allusions to semi-foreign beliefs, just working their way into the Tamil mind, but indicate ideas that had taken root in the Tamil scheme of life and were fast smothering out the old Tamil notions. Moreover these poems were not sung in honour of great victors like Karikāl or Nandiraiyan or Neduñjeliyan but either of the minor chiefs who had gained power on account of the eclipse of the three dynasties or of the god Murugan or of no one person in particular. These poems, moreover, seem to have been composed with Tolkāppiyānār's rules of poetics prominently in view ; that is, they are not the outcome of poetic genius working spontaneously, as in Homer's Epics and the early Greek Dramas from which Aristotle inferred the principles of epic or dramatic poetry, but, like the French classical drama of the XVII century, consciously based on the poetical canons of Aristotle and Horace. Not that the old Tamil poetic flame is obscured ; it shines with all the old effulgence, but the muse moves under the control of the reins forged by the critic. This will be illustrated in the succeeding sections.

"The long, good winterwind." :

According to the commentator, Naccinārkkiniyar, this poem was composed by Nakkīrar in honour of Neḍuṣṣeḷiyan. But in the text of the poem, this king is not mentioned. The hero is "a king. (Vāndan) who did not sleep even at midnight, but wandered round his camp accompanied by some (followers), when he was encamped in his war with many (foes)"¹ "He carried a strong spear round whose top margosa leaves were tied."² It is a bold inference from this description that the hero was Neḍuṣṣeḷiyan, the victor of Talaiyālan-gānam. The object of the poem is to describe the sorrows of the king's wife on account of her separation from her husband and her prayer to Korravai, the old Tamil goddess of war, to bless her husband with victory, so that he might return soon to her arms. Though thus the queen prays to the Tamil goddess, it is plain that the poem was composed after Aryan concepts had definitely established themselves in the life of the Tamils. Not remote but intimate references to Aryan culture abound in the poem. Thus the śāstra of architecture is mentioned. "Men learned in the (Śilpa) Śāstra stretched a thin thread, marked the directions of the compass, located correctly the gods of the various directions, and set out the plan of a house fit for famous

¹ கன்னென் யாமத்தும் பன்னிகொளான்

சிலகொடு திரிதரும் வேந்தன்

பலகொடு முரணிய பாசறைத் தொழிலே,

Ned. II. 186-188.

² வேம்புதலை யாத்த கோண்கா மெலிகமொடு.

Ned. I. 176.

kings."³ The part of the wall into which the top of the doorframe is set, called *uttara karkavi* is the subject of an astronomical pun in a certain line, which speaks of a "beam named after the star, to which the door-frame is fitted."⁴ The star referred to is *Uttaram* and the beam is also called *uttaram*. The royal chamber in the interior of the palace, like the *sanctum sanctorum* of a temple, is called *garbhagṛha*, literally the womb of the house, or rather the house that is the womb; and *garbha* is in Tamil *karu*. So the royal chamber is called "the chamber, fair to the sight, named after the womb."⁵ In another place forty is rendered by a compound of the Sanskrit *daśa* and the Tamil *nāngu*.⁶ The signs of the zodiac, are described as "having as the first, the ram with strongly fixed horns."⁷ *Āḍu* is the translation of *mīṣam* which is itself the translation of Greek *Aries*. In another place, the constellation, *Rohini*, is named in its Tamil form *Urōhiṇi*.⁸ Notwithstanding this intrusion

³ தூலறி புலவர் நுண்ணிதிற் கவிநிட்டித்
தேவன் கொண்டு தெய்வ கோக்கிப்
பெரும்பெயர் மன்னர்க் கொப்ப மனைவருத்த.

Ned. II. 76-78.

⁴ நானொடுப் பெயரிய கோளமை விழுமரத்த.

Ned. I. 82.

⁵ கருவொடு பெயரிய காண்பி னல்லில்,

Ned. I. 114.

⁶ தசநான்கு.

Ned. I. 115.

⁷ திண்ணலை மருப்பி னுதிதலை யாக.

Ned. I. 160.

⁸ Ned. I. 163.

of Aryan ideas, Tamil poetry still keeps up the old spirit of realism in descriptions. Thus "the clouds, true to the seasons, chilled the world and circled round the hills and poured the new rain. The herdsmen, who wielded the cruel wand, hated the flood, and let the crowds of cattle, male and female, graze on the higher lands, sorrowfully giving up their usual grazing grounds. The garlands made of the long petals (of the November flower) were ruined by the fall of the rain. The men suffered much from cold; all of them carried torches in their hands but their teeth were chattering like drums. The beasts gave up their grazing; the monkeys shivered. The birds dropped from the trees. The cows would not admit their calves to their teats but kicked them off." * Now for winter scenery. "The white flower, with rounded back, of the thin creeper, musundai (*Iponaea candicans*) and the gold-coloured flower of the pirkku gourd bloomed on every thicket. The carp swam against the fast-flowing current. On the temporary cessation of rain, swarms of the yellow legged crane whose feathers were fine and the heron with red streaks on its body, ate the

* ஸவரகம் பளிப்ப வலனேர்பு வளைஇப்
பொய்யா வானம் புதப்பெயல் பொழித்தென
யார்கலி மூளேஇய கொடுக்கோள் கோவல
ரேறடை வினகினை வேறபுலம் பரப்பிப்
புலம்பெயர் புலம்பொடு கலங்கி கோட
ளீழதழ்ச் சுண்ணி நீரலைக் கலாவ
மெய்க்கொள் பெரும்பளி கலியப் பலருடன்
கைக்கொள் கொள்ளியர் கவுன்புடையூஉ கடுக்க
மாமேயன் மறப்ப மத்தி கூரப்
பறவை பறவன் வீழக் கறவை
கன்றகோ ளொழிய.

carp where the wet white sand was mixed with the black clay. The rising white cloud from the broad sky drizzled. The stalks of paddy with shining leaves rose bending above the water which filled the broad, beautiful fields. The areca nuts ripened and looked as if they were swollen with the clear water inside them, as they appeared in clusters on the broad spathe of the areca palm whose base is thick and neck like sapphire. The tops of the trees of the large forests were filled thick with blossoms."¹⁰

"The Song of the pastoral region":

The Mullaippattu sings of the suffering of the love-lorn wife during the spring season, when her husband was away on a military expedition. The author Nappudānār does not give us any indication about his hero, except

- 10 புன்கொடி முசுண்டைப் பொறிப்புற வான்ஃப்
பொன்போற் பீரமொடு புதற்புதன் மலரப்
பைங்காத் கொக்கின் மென்பறைத் தொழுதி
யிருங்கரி பரந்த வீரவெண்மணத்
செவ்வரி ஈரையோ டெவ்வாபுங் கவரக்
கவரை வெதிரக் கடும்புனற் சாடியப்
பெயறுலத் தெழுத்த பொங்கல் வெண்மறை
யகலிரு விசிம்பிற் துவலை கற்ப
வங்க ணகல்வய லாப்பெயற் கலித்த
வண்டோட்டு டெல்லின் வருகிற் வணங்க
முழுமுதற் கழுதின் மணிபுற தொருத்திற்
கொடுமட லயிழ்த்த குழுடக்கொள் பெருங்குலை
துண்ணீர் தெவின வீங்கிப் புடைதிரண்டு
தெண்ணீர்ப் பசுங்காய் சேறுகொள முற்ற
கலிகொள் இமைய விரவுமலர் வியங்கா,

Neḷ, II, 13-27.

that he employed yavanas and mlecchas among others and hence many languages were heard in his camp. In this poem also, the Aryan allusions are not casual but intimate. Thus the black god Māyōn of the ancient Tamils has been so fully identified with Viṣṇu that the cloud is said to be "like Māl who holds in his large hands the discus and the right-whorled chank, in whose breast resides Lakṣmī, and who rose up after water was poured into his hand (by Mahābali)."¹¹ Another simile refers to the Brāhmaṇa ascetic carrying a triple wand with his cloth dyed with (ochre) stone tied to it and wearing a similar cloth on his person.¹² Certain interesting facts connected with ancient Tamil life we learn from this poem. One Tamil way of reading the future was to go to the outskirts of the villages and listen to words casually uttered by people there and prognosticating the future therefrom. Thus "We went to the suburbs of the well-guarded ancient town; elderly ladies carried a small measure (nāli) of paddy and sweet-smelling Mullai flowers round which crowds of bees were humming with a sound similar to that of the Yāl, and scattered them, and worshipped God and we waited for an omen. The cowherdess, shaking with the cold, held her arms tight on her shoulders. The calf, distressfully held by a short string, did not take to the teats of its dam, and turned round. She saw the sight and said, 'The herdsmen

11

கேடிகோலு

வலம்புகி பொறித்த மாதாங்கு தடக்கை
நீர்க்கோல நிமிர்ந்த மாஅல் போல.

Mul. II. 1-3.

12 கற்றோய்த் தடுத்த படியப் பார்ப்பான்
முக்கோல வகைநிலை கடுப்ப.

Mul. II. 37-38.

holding the cruel stick will drive the cow and your dam will come soon.' We heard this auspicious speech and decided that our lord would seize the enemy's territory and receive tribute and return after finishing the work undertaken by him. This is truth.' ¹³

The author of Mullaippāṭṭu describes nature quite as well as other poets. "The flowers of the kâyā (Mamecydon tinctorium) which grows on sand and is thickly overgrown with leaves, open out and look like collyrium. The cassia, which bears tender leaves and clusters, sheds (its flowers, which are like) good gold. The closed buds of the kōḍal (white variety of the November flower) open out like the palm of the hand. The rounded red lily flowers (red like) blood. In the broad red plain filled with shrubs, the stalks of ragi on which good rain has fallen in the month of the early dew when it will drizzle white, bend and

- 13 அருங்கடி முனார் மருங்கிற் பேசாதி
யாழிசை யினவன் டார்ப்ப செல்லொடு
காழிகொண்ட நறுவீ முல்லை
யரும்பலி ழலரி னகையக் கைதொழுது
பெருமுது பெண்டிர் விரிச்சி திப்பச்
சிதறாம்பு தொடுத்த பசிலைக் கன்றி
ஐ நறு நலமா னேக்கி யாய்மக
னடுங்குசுவலகைத்த கையன் கைய
கொடுங்கோற் கோவலர் பின்னின் றுய்த்தா
யின்னே வருகுவர் தாய ரென்போ
ணன்னர் கன்மொழி கேட்டன மதனும்
னல்ல கல்லோர் வாய்ப்புட் டெய்வர்
முனைககூர்ந்து கொண்ட திறையர் வினைமுடித்து
வருத தலைவர் வாய்வது.

(in the ragi field), the stag which has twisted horns will gambol with the hind."¹⁴

From this poem we learn that in royal camps hours or rather the watches of the day were announced by the ringing of bright bells with large tongues¹⁵ and time was calculated by means of water-clocks.¹⁶ Dumb mlaechas were employed as body-guards round the tent of the sleeping king.¹⁷

"The Song of the Hilly Region":

The commentator Naccinārkkiniyar says that the Kuṇḍippaṭṭu was composed by Kabilar for teaching (the principles of) Tamil poetry to the Aryan king Pirahattan. This it might well be, for this poem was

14

அயி:

செறியிலை நாயர் வஞ்சன மலர்
முறியினர்க் கொன்றை நன்பொன் நரலக்
கோடற் குவிமுனை யவ்வை யலிழற்
தோடார் தோன்றி குருதி பூப்பச்
காண நந்திய செங்கிவப் பெருவழி
வானம் வாய்த்த வாய்கு கதிர் வரவிற்
நிரமரு பிரையொடு மடமா னுகள்
வெறிச்செல் வெண்மைத பொழியுந் திக்களின்.

Mul, II, 92-101.

15 செகோ வெண்மணி நிழற்றிய கடுகான்.

Mul, I, 50.

16 குறுகீர்த் கன்ன வினைத்தென் நினைப்ப.

Mul, I, 58.

17 உடம்பி னுரைக்கு முரையா நரவிற்

படம்புரு மிலேச்ச குழை யராக.

Mul, II, 65-66.

not sung in honour of any god or king or patron of letters, but was intended to illustrate most of Tolkāppiyānār's rules regarding the Kuṟiṇji class of poems. All other poems we have discussed so far, to whatever class of poems they belonged, were primarily intended to eulogize somebody or other and only incidentally illustrated the rules of poetics; but this is the first long poem which regarded grammar as a prescriptive and not descriptive science and was composed in obedience to the rules of the critic. After this time, numerous poems were composed not as the poet's genius guided him, but with Agattiyanār's or Tolkāppiyānār's grammar set as the authoritative guide for the poet.

The poem probably belongs to the end of the VI century. The Aryan allusions are sufficiently intimate to support this view. Thus "even the aiyar (ṛṣis, or holy ascetics, in later ages used as the title of lay Brāhmaṇas) who are learned in the ancient śāstras and whose mental vision is not clouded by defects, cannot reattain to their former status, once they lose the qualities, excellences and conduct pertaining (to their caste), even though they wash out (their sins)."¹⁴ This shows that the Aryan caste-system and the Aryan Dharma śāstras had become guiding factors in the conduct of the life of the Tamils when the poem was composed. Another Aryan doctrine is referred to, when the heroine consoles herself with

¹⁴ சாஃபும் வியப்பு மியல்பும் குன்றின்
மாசறக் கழீஇ வயங்குபுகழ் சிறத்த
வாசற காட்சி வயயர்க்கு மந்திலை
யெளிய வென்றார் தொன்மருக் கறிஞர்.

the hope, "In the other world, (i. e., the next rebirth) I will join my lover."¹⁵ Another Aryan allusion is to the evening rites of Brāhmanas.¹⁶ An adumbration of the exaggeration which caught hold of Tamil poetry, under the influence of the later artificial poetry of Sanskrit, is found when the poet speaks of "the clouds which move in crowds high (in the sky), after having reduced, by drinking, the quantity of the water of the full, broad sea, and thundered with a sweet sound, like a drum gently beaten."¹⁷

In view of its character of a poem intended to illustrate the rules of the grammar of poetry, the author gives an absolutely unpoetical list, quite like a florists' catalogue, of nearly a hundred flowers of the Kuṛiñji region. Not that the poet is wanting in true poetic fire; witness his description of the evening. "The many-rayed sun, in his chariot to which seven horses are yoked, has ridden (all day in the sky) and has reached the horizon and disappeared behind the hill. The deer have crowded at the feet of trees. The herds of cows, crying for their calves have entered all over the village common. The nightingale, who has a bent mouth, sounding like the trumpet, from the broad leaf

¹⁵ ஏனை யுககத்து மிளையவநா னமக்கென.

Ib. l. 24.

¹⁶ அத்தி யந்தண ரயர.

Ib. l. 235.

¹⁷ சிறையிரும் பெனவந் குறைபட முகந்துகொண்டு

முரசநிர்ச் தன்ன விஞ்ஞா லேந்நெடுமி

கிணாசெவ னரிவப்பிற் கொண்மு.

Kuṛi. l. 47, ll. 49-50.

of the tall palmyra, calls (her mate). The serpent vomits out its gem (to enable it to eat). Herdsmen from many directions play on their sweet fair flute the tune called Āmbal. The lily opens out its beautiful petals. Brāhmanas perform their evening rites. In the houses of the wealthy, women who wear bright bangles light the lamp and do other evening duties. The foresters, in their lofts which reach the sky, make fire from the fire churn and light their fires. The clouds that surround great hills turn black. The beasts in the jungle cry to each other. The birds cry."¹⁸ Two beautiful poetical images may also be quoted to show the talent of the poet. "My plaited black hair falling down on the small back, looking like the sapphire set on gold,"¹⁹ "Like the heroes who wield spears and have

¹⁸ எவ்வை செவ்வ வேழர் பிதறஞ்சிப்
பங்கதிர் மண்டிலம் கல்சேர்பு மதைய
மான்சுண மரமுதற் தெவிட்ட வான்கணம்
கன்றபயிர் குரல மன்றிறை புருதா
வேங்குவயி ரிசைய கொடுவா யன்றி
லோவ்ஜிரும் பெண்ணை யகமட வகவப்
பாம்புமணி யுமிழப் பல்வயிற் கோவல
ராம்பலந் திக்குழற் தென்வினி பயிற்ற
வாம்ப லாயிதழ் கூம்புவிட வாமனைப்
பூத்தொடி மகளிர் கடர்தலைக் கொளுவி
யந்தி யந்தண ரயரக் காணவர்
விண்டோய் பணவை மிசைஞெயிழி பொத்த
வான மாலை வாய்குழ்பு கறுப்பக் காணல்
கல்லென் றிரட்டப் புள்ளின மொலிப்ப.

Kuri. II. 215-228.

¹⁹ பொன்னெறி மணியிற் செறுபுறச் சாழ்ந்தவெம்
பின்னிரும் கூத்தல், Ib. II. 59-60.

seen the backs of (i.e. driven away) their powerful foes and whose might destroys the fields of their foes, the dog is inspired by fierce anger and inflamed with fury whenever it is approached, and possesses large claws and teeth bright like the shoot of the bamboo." 20

"The sound oozing from the hill":

The finest of the Ten Songs is *Malaipaṇḍukāḍum*, lit. the secretion oozing from the hill (which resembles the mast elephant). Its description of mountain-scenery cannot be easily surpassed. Its author *Perūṅgaṣṣiṅṇār* intended the poem as a praise of Nannan, but the description of the hills that belonged to Nannan is longer than the lines devoted to his eulogy. The opening lines describe an orchestra of the hill country. "Like the roar of the black cloud which by raining from the sky produces wealth, the drum fastened by strong strips of leather sounds from its sides (various) tunes. The small drum (*ṇūḷi*), the cymbals made by melting metal and making it into a flat sheet, the horn to which bright black peacock feathers and leaves were tied, the long oboe like the proboscis hanging between the eyes of the elephant, the short, excellent pipe which produces a cerebral tone and the sweet flute which sings in unison with these, the *karāḍigai* which produces an intermediate note, the strong-toned large cymbal (*ellari*) which keeps time, and the wide-faced drum (*paḍalai*) which shows the measure of the notes and others (were

²⁰ முனைபாழ் படுக்குந் தன்னருத் துப்பிற்

பகைபுதல் கண்ட பங்கே வினைஞரி

ஹவய்ச்சினஞ் செருக்கித் தன்னுதொடும் கெருஞ்

முனைவா செவித்த வஞ்ஞகிர் ழுமவி.

Kur. II, 128-131.

placed in) a bag, thick enough to support them, which looked like a bunch of many jack-fruits which ripen in the rainy season."²¹

From this poem we learn that painting was fairly common in this age, for a woman's "breast is described as possessing the beauty which is found in works of art."²² "Princes daily hold assemblies in which they poured presents to those that praised them as ceaselessly as the rain pours in the proper season, not being satisfied with giving them their enemy kings."²³ "In these

- ²¹ திருமுறை தலைஇய விருணித விகம்பின்
விண்ணநி ரிமிழிசை கடுப்பப் பண்ணமைத்தத்
திண்வார் விரித்த முழுவொ டாகுளி
தண்ணுருக் குத்த விளங்கடர்ப் பாண்டின்
மின்னிரும் பீவி யணிதழைக் கோட்டொடு
கண்ணிடை விடுத்த களிற்று யிந்த தாம்பி
னிளிப்பவி ரிருந் குதம்பசக் தம்பொடு
விளிப்பது கவருக் திவ்ருழ றதைஇ
கடுவுநின் றிசைக்கு மரிஞ்ஞாத் தட்டை
கடிகவர் பொலிக்கும் வல்வா யெவ்வரி
கொடிதரு பாணிய பதிலையும் பிறவுந்
கார்கோட் பலவின் காய்த்துணர் கடுப்ப
கோடீர் கருக்கிக் காய கலப்பை.

Mal. II, 1-13.

- ²² வண்புனை யெழின்முலை. Ib. I, 57.

The work of art is a statue as well as a picture.

- ²³ புகழுநர்

காகமுழுது கொடுப்பினு மமர கோக்க மொடு
துத்தனி பொழிந்த பொய்யா வானின்
வீயாது காக்குமவ னுண்மெ ழிருக்கை.

Ib. 73-76.

assemblies, if learned people who crowded there were unable to display all their learning, the courtiers covered up the defect by expounding what the scholars meant to say and thus helped them."²⁴ The scholars referred to were probably Sanskrit pandits.

The author's description of the vegetation of the hill-region is a splendid specimen of realistic poetry. "The thin climbing plant musundai produced white flowers which looked like the Pleiades in the broad, black sky. From the sesamum seeds sown in the fields, the plants with many branches rose, looking like sapphires, and as the water from springs, full like water-pots, embraces (the stalks) and prevents them from turning red the young fruit becomes mature and black and so thick that seven fruits can be held together in one grasp and the seed is full of oil. The panicum, whose ears intertwined like the trunks of elephant-calves engaged in a mock-fight, is fit for harvest. On the cut stalks of the panicum beans have shed flowers white like the droplets of sour curds and have produced fruits which look like swords. On the rocks which lie like buffaloes on the pathway, large fields yield double ragi stalks like the joined fingers of the logician when he argues. The tūrai paddy in the flowering forest has become fully matured by rain and its clusters are ready to be crushed into flattened rice. The white mustard sown in fields

²⁴ கல்வெளர் குழ்திய நாகலி வனவயத்து
வவ்வா ராலினும் புறமறைத்துச் சென்றோரைச்
சொல்லிக் காட்டிச் சொர்வின்றி வினக்கி
கவ்விதி வியக்குமவன் சுற்றத் தொழுக்கம்.

which were not ploughed but only picked by the pickaxe, has grown thick. The roots of the ginger which look like natural (not man-made) pictures have grown fair and acquired acidity. The kavalai, (probably tapioca) whose vine is thick has in pit after pit grown tubers like the bent knees of the strong female yak and fit for being ground into flour. The plantains grew in abundance round hills and their tops with buds that do not blossom pricked the hill-side, as spear-heads fitted to handles prick elephants, and they have produced fruits so thick in a bunch as to bend it. The bamboo-rice has also matured and become fit to eat and stands motionless. The trees there yield fruit independent of the seasons (on account of the fertility of the soil). The black Jambolan fruits lie scattered on the broad rock. The uyavai (*Clitoria ternatea*), which makes the mouth water, has spread wide (its stems intertwined). The kūvai (arrow root) has matured so as to produce flour. The sweet mango, abounding in juice, prevented people from eating any other fruit. The fruit of the long-trunked variety of the jack, called āṣini, has burst and scattered the seeds. On the hillside where the male and the female owls hoot alternately like the small drum, called āguḷi, whose "eyes" are beaten by the fingers, jack-trees with waving boughs, on account of plentiful rainfall, have drunk water and are bent by (the weight of the) fruits which grow up and down and look like the drums (*mattalam*) of dancers who walk along the road. In the fields where the cut stalks are white, the aivana and the white rice have gone to seed and, blown by the strong wind, are flourishing. The leaves of the sweet sugar-cane are bent and the canes have grown thick, so that the bed has become invisible; like a series of spears leaning on

one another, the sugar-canes have slanted on account of the wind ; they have been cut and are waiting to be taken to the press. The long fragrant negisduly spread out as if it were blackness itself."²⁵ This poem contains beautiful

25 அகலிரு விசம்பி னாஅல் போல
வாவிதின் விரிந்த புன்கொடி முகண்டை
கீலத் தன்ன விதைப்புன மருக்கின்
மருளி பாயாது மலிதுளி தழாலி
னகனத் தன்ன சிறைகனைப் புறவிற்
கெனைய போலிய கருங்காய் பிடியேழ்

Ib. II. 100—105.

கொக்கொள வெழுதின பங்கவரெண்
பொய்பொரு சுபமுளி முயக்குகை கடுப்பக்
கொப்பத முற்றன குவடிக்குர வேனல்
வினைதவிற் பிறிவின் வீயக் கிருவிதொறக்
குளிப்புரை கொடுக்காய் கொண்டன வவரை
மேதி யன்ன கல்பிறங் கியலின்
யாதிகை யன்ன கைவக்கதி சிறைஞ்சி
விரும்புகவர் வுற்றன பெரும்புன வாகே
பால்வார்பு கெழீஇப் பங்கவர் வளிபோற்பு
வாலிதின் வினைத்தன வைவனக் வெண்விணல்
வேலீண்டு தொழுதி யிரிவுத் தென்னக்
காறுத துவைப்பிற் கவிழ்க்கனைத் திறைஞ்சிக்
குறைபறை வரலா நிவப்பி னதைபுற்
குலைக் கலமருக் திங்கழைக் கரும்பே
புயற்புளி து போலிய பூமலி புறவி
னவற்பதக் கொண்டன வம்பொதித் தோரை
தொய்யாது வித்திய துளர்படு துடவை
வையலி யமன்ற வெண்காற் செதுவின்
மையென விரிந்தன கீணுற கெய்தல்
செய்யாப் பாவை வளர்த்துகவின் முற்றிக்

single sentences descriptive of natural objects, but too numerous for quotation. "Honey combs arranged like chariot-wheels on the precipitous hills where the god resides,"²⁰ "Birds which sing in a choir like a number of musical instruments tuned in unison, on the banyan trees of many branches and filled with

காயக் கொண்டன விஞ்சி மாவிருந்து
வலவுப்பிடி முழந்தான் கடுப்பக் குழிதொறும்
விழுமிதின் வீழ்த்தன கொழுக்கொடித் கவலை
காழ்மண் டெஃகல் கவிறுமுகம் பாய்த்தென
பூழ்மல சொழிமுனை யுயர்முக் தோயத்
துறுகல் சுற்றிய சோலை வளைழ
யிறகுருலை முதுகப் பழுத்த பயம்புக்
கூழுத் தவமரு முத்த முகவறைத்
கால மன்றியு மரம்பயன் கொடுத்தவித்
காலி னுதிர்ந்தன கருங்கனி காவன்
மாறு கொள வெழுதின பூதரீ குயவை
தூறெடு குழிஇயின கூவை சேறுசிறத்
துண்ணுகர்த் தடுத்தன தேமாப் புண்ணரித்
தலை யுக்கன கொடுத்த னாசினி
விரலுன்ற படுக னுருளி கடுப்பக்
குடினை யிரட்டு செடுமலை யடுக்கத்துத்
சீழு மேலுங் கார்வாய்த் தெதிரித்
காஞ்செல் கோடியத் முழவித் துங்கி
முாஞ்சொண் டுறைஞ்சின வலங்குசினப் பவவே

Mal. II. 106-144.

I have followed the commentator closely in translating this passage.

²⁰ கோர்கொ ணெடுவரை சோயித் தொடுத்த
ஞர்புக லடுக்கத்துப் பிரசம்.

Ib. II. 238-239.

fruits." ²⁷, "(The foresters will run to you) as fast as people run to rescue men who have missed the usual ford (for crossing rivers) and walked into deep pits in the river and are sinking," ²⁸ may be quoted as samples. The following lines display a foretaste of the spirit of exaggeration that is gradually obsessing the Tamil muse. "The python which lies (on the road) like a huge log, which has a large hood and beautiful eyes and swallows the strong, fierce elephant." ²⁹ A curious custom is alluded to, that of "forest-women, with hair like the waving, black river-sand, singing a song to heal the long gaping wounds caused by the striped tigers on the breasts of their husbands." ³⁰ The gathering of honey is described as "the looting of the honey gathered by the bees for its own benefit, by going up bamboo trees planted on the beautiful, tall hills, which even the bearded ape cannot climb," ³¹ The cumulus cloud is

²⁷ கொடுவன முரட்டுக கொளி யாலத்துக்
கடியத் தன்ன ஓரல்புணர் புள்.

Ib. II, 268—269.

²⁸ நிலைத்துரை வழிஇய மதனழி மாக்கள்
புனற்படு பூசலின் விரைத்துவல் வெய்த்.

Ib. II, 280—281.

²⁹ துகன்பை யங்கண்
மைந்துமலி ினத்த களிதாமத னழிக் துத்
துஞ்சமரங் கடுக்கு மாசணம்.

Ib. II, 259-26

³⁰ கொடுவனி பாய்ந்தெனக் கொழுார் மார்பி
னெடுவன விரூப்புண் டணிநார் காப்பென
வறல்வாழ் கூத்தந் கொடிச்சியர் பாடல்

Mal II, 302-304.

³¹ கலைகை யற்ற காண்பி னெடுவரை
நிலைபெய் திட்ட மால்புகொறி யாகப்
பெரும்பயன் நெருத்த தேய்கொள் கொள்ளை.

Ib. II, 315—317

described as " swelling like carded cotton, and resting on the high hill " ³² Nannan ruled over the valley of Śīyāru.

" The smaller guide to poets.":

As Malaipaḍukaḍāṁ directed indigent poets to go to Nannan for reward, so Śīrupāṇṇruppaḍai guided them to the court of Nalliyakkōḍan. The fact that these odes were sung in honour of petty chiefs is itself an indication that the greater Rājas—Śōja, Śāra, and Pāṇḍiya—had declined in importance. This inference is confirmed by the fact that the poet praises Nalliyakkōḍan as superior in generosity to the " three kings " and the " seven princes," and incidentally gives brief descriptive notices of the three kingdoms and the seven principalities of the Tamil land. " In the western country (that of the Śēras), the buffalo, treading on fat fishes, eats with its large mouth the red lily which has thick petals; its hairy back is rubbed by the soft turmeric leaves under the shade of the jack-tree on which grows the green pepper vine; it chews the cud smelling of immature honey and sleeps on a bed of wild-jasmine." ³³ " The southern (Pāṇḍiya) country

³² அம்படு மாமலைப் பணுவலிற் பொங்கி,

Ib. I, 361.

³³ கொழுநின் குறைய கொதுக்கி வள்ளிதழ்ச்
சுழுகீர் மேய்த்த சயவா யெருமை
பைங்கழி சிவந்த பலவி வீழன்
மஞ்சண் மெல்லினை மயிர்ப்புறச் சைவா
வினையா விளங்க னூற மெல்குபு பெயராச்
குளவிப் பள்ளிப் பாயல் கொள்ளுந்
குடபுலம்.

Śīr. II. 41-47.

which was ruled over by the lord of Kōrkai, has as its boundary the breaking waves; near them came the salt-sellers, carts, the front of whose axle-boxes were made from a block of the ripe nupā (Morinda umbellata) whose flowers shed honey, turned with sharp chisels and covered with red lac, and which were drawn by strong bullocks, adorned with garlands passing behind their ears. In the carts came monkeys which were treated like children (by the salt-vendors) and they shook the rattles of the jewelled children of the wives of the salt-sellers, who wore on the waist (a garland of) pearls bright like the teeth of women and also saw-mouthed shells, who embraced their men, and whose hair was plaited fivefold."³⁴ "The East (Sē[a]) country possesses places where the tune called Kāmaram is sung, and where the bees embrace their mates, and go to sleep on the golden seed-vessel, surrounded by the petals, red as if covered

34 கறையவா யுறைக்கு காகுமுதிர் நுணவத்
தறையாய்க் குதத்துணி யயிறுளி பொருத
கைபுனை செப்பல் கடைந்த மார்பிற்
செய்ப்புல் கண்ணி செவிமுத நிருத்தி
கோன்பகட் கிணை ரொழுக்கையொடு வந்த
மகாஅ ரன்ன மரதி மடவேரார்
ககாஅ ரன்ன களிநீர் முத்தம்
வசவ்வா யெருத்தின் யயிற்றகத் தடக்கித்
தோன்புற மறைக்கு கல்கூர் நசப்பி
ஐனரிய ஸைம்பா ஐமட்டிய ரீன்ற
கிளப்பூட் புதவ்வொருடு கிலுகிலி யாடுத்
தத்துரீர் வரைப்பிற் கொற்கைக் கோமான்
நென்புலம்.

Sir. II. 51-63.

Lines 58-59 are obscure.

with lac, of the holy lotus whose bud looks like the rising breast and whose full-blown flower is bright like the (human) face. This lotus grows on the ghat, which looks like a picture, because on it is spread the cochineal-like pollen of the crowded flowers of the Kadambu which grows on the banks of the tank full of water."²² The other descriptions are too slender to be quoted. Vellore being one of the towns belonging to this prince, his principality was perhaps coterminous with the present North Arcot district.

"The Guide to Murugan":

In imitation of the three guides¹ to poets in this collection, the Tirumurugāṟṟuppaḍai is a guide to Muruga shrines. In this poem Nakkīranār describes the worship of Murugan at (1) Tirupparaṅgunṇam, (2) Tiruccīralaivāy, (3) Tiruvāyinaṅguḍi, (4) Tiruvāragam (5) on hills and (6) in orchards. This poem belongs to the eve of the final absorption of Aryanism by the Tamils, when the Tamil Murugan had just been identified with the Aryan six-faced Kārttikeya, fosterchild of

²² ஈறுநீர்ப் பொய்கை யடைகரை சிவந்த
துறுநீர்க் கடம்பின் றுணையார் கோதை
கோவத் தன்ன யுண்டிறை மருங்கித்
கோவத் தன்ன கொக்குசேர் புறத்தலின்
யருமுலை யன்ன யண்முலை யடைத்து
நிருமுக மலிழந்த தெய்வத் தாமரை
யாசி லங்கை யாக்குத்தோய்த் தன்ன
சேவிதழ் பொதித்த செம்பொற் கொட்டை
யேம வின் றுணை தழீஇ யிறகுளர்த்து
காமர் தும்பி காமரஞ் செப்புந்
தன்பனை தழீஇய தளரா விருக்கை.

the stars of the Pleiades. In it we can notice the dying Tamil rite of Muruga worship coalescing with the rite of the Aryan worship of *śaṣṭmukha*. "The frightful demonesses with dry hair, irregular teeth, large mouth, yellow eyes rolling with anger, cruel looks, ears which distressed their large breasts, like fierce snakes hanging from owls with prominent eye balls, rough-skinned belly, and terrible gait, with bent fingers whose nails were dipped in blood, gouged the eyes and ate them, and carried in their large bangled hands the black heads (of corpses), and singing songs of victory and shaking their upper arms danced the *Tuṇṇai*, their mouth eating carrion."²⁷ But yet "the Lord who possessed the tall flag adorned with the bird which has many stripes and bent feathers and strikes the snake dead, the Lord who in the field of victory held up of the white bull as his flag, who has *Umā* in one half of his body, whose thick shoulders are praised by many, who possesses three unwinking eyes and burnt the three cities, the Lord of Fortune who has ten rows of hundred eyes each, performed a hundred sacrifices and defeated his enemies, and who rides on the back of

27 உவநிய கதுப்பிற் பிறழ்பந் பேழ்வாய்ச்
கழல்விழிப் பசங்கட் ஞர்த்த நோக்திற்
கழல்சுட் கூகையொடு கடும்பாம்பு னுங்கப்
பெருமுலை யலைக்குங் காதிற் பிணர்மோட்
நெடுகெழு செலயி னஞ்சுவரு பேய்மகள்
குருதியாய் கூருகிர்க் கொடுவிரற்
கண்டொட் நெண்ட சுழிமுடைக் கருந்தலை
யொண்டொடத் தடக்கையி னேந்தி யெருவா
யென்றநி விநற்களம் பாழத்தோன் பெயரா
கணத்தின் வாய நெய்கை தாங்க.

the elephant on whose head grow twice two horns, whose gait is beautiful, which has a bent trunk hanging low, and who is praised by all, the Lord whose one aim is to guard the universe so as to keep up the towns belonging to the four Gods" ** visited Murugan at Tiruvāvinanguḍi. The last God is explained by the commentator to be the same as the first and the four Gods in the last phrase to be Indiran, Yaman, Varuṇan, and Sēman. This explanation is forced; but I cannot offer any other.

The part of the poem that relates to Tiruccirālaivāy is an elaborate explanation of the functions of the six faces and twelve arms of *ṣaṣmukha*, nothing like which was known to Tamil literature before the VI century A. D. The fourth part of the poem, that which describes Murugan at Tiruvēragam deals with Brāhmaṇa-worship of the god. It runs thus:—"The twice-born descended on both sides from families which have earned the respect of the world, who have not failed to discharge

28 பாம்புபடப் புடைக்கும் பல்வகிக் கொடுஞ்சிறைப்
புள்ளணி நீன்கொடிச் செல்வனும் வெள்ளேறு
வலவயி னுயரிய பவர்புகழ் தினிதோ
ஞ்ஞமையமர்த்து வினங்கு மிணையா முக்கண்
முலையின் முருக்கிய முரண்பிசு செல்வனு
தூற்றப்பத் தடுக்கிய நாட்டத்து தூறுபல்
வேன்வி முற்றிய வென்றடி கொற்றத
தீசிரண் டேர்நிய மருப்பி னெழினடைத்
தாழ்பெருக் தடக்கை யுயர்த்த யானை
யெருத்த மேறிய திருக்கினர் செல்வனு
நாற்பெருக் கொய்வத்து கண்ணகர் சிலையு
யுவகை காக்கு மொன்றபுரி கொள்ளை.

Tir. II. 150-161.

the twice three kinds of Brahminical duties, and who have trodden on the path (of Brahmacharya) for forty-eight years, and who possess the eternal principles of Dharma and the (spiritual) wealth of maintaining the triple fire, praise the god in proper season. They wear nine strands of thread twisted in three, and wet clothes (after bathing) which dry on the body; they join their palms above their heads, praise him and sing the six-lettered mantra as long as their tongue can move. They then take sweet-smelling flowers in their hands (and scatter them) before the god who lives joyfully at Erugam."¹⁹

In this place the worship of Murugan was conducted purely in the Aryan style, but on hills it was in the pure Tamil style, as described in the section of the poem called "Dancing on the hills." There "the priest of Murugan wore a garland of green creepers on which were strung the sweet smelling nutmeg, the wild

¹⁹ இருமூன் தெய்திய வியலினின் ஈழாஅ
திருவர்த் சுட்டிய பவ்வேறு தொல்குடி
யதகான் திரட்டி யினமை நவ்வியான்
டாறினித் சுழிப்பிய யதனலில் கொள்கை
மூன்றுவகைக் குறித்த முத்தீச் செவ்வத்
திருபிறப் பானர் பொழுதறித்து நவவ
வொன்பது கொண்ட மூன்றுபுரி அண்ணான்
புலராக் காழகம் புலர ஈடு
புச்சிக் கூப்பிய கையினர் தற்புகழ்த்
தாரெழுத் தடக்கிய வருமறைக் கேள்வி
காவியன் மருங்கி னவிலப் பாடி
விறையுற நமமல ரேத்திப் பெரிதுவத்
தேரகத் துறைதநு முசியன்.

jasmine flower and the white convolvulus and daubed on his breast the bright fragrant sandal-paste. The foresters who kill (beasts) with their strong, cruel bows, along with their kindred in hill-hamlets, drink the liquor which has been matured in long bamboo stems and dance the Kuravai dance to the beating of the small Tondagam drum. Their women wear garlands of full-blown flowers which emit different kinds of odour, and strings of flowers which grow in deep mountain pools, on their well-combed hair. They wear round their waist the leaf-garment made of the leaves and flowers of the sweet basil and the flower-clusters of the fair-trunked marī (*Eugenia racemosa*), whence bees drink honey and (the women) with the gait of the peacock dance so that the leafy girdle waves on the forelap. The priest puts on red garments, sticks behind his ears the cool tender leaves of the Aśoka, whose trunk is red, ties a cummerband, wears anklets, as also the garland of vetāi; the flute is played, the trumpet is blown, and other instruments are sounded. A ram and a peacock are brought; the cock-flag is raised. He wears armlets, is surrounded by songstresses whose throat sounds like a string. On the cummerband wound tight round his waist, he wears a thin cloth, hanging down to the ground, while women with soft shoulders like the deer dance; he grasps them with his hands broad like a drum and dances on the hills."³⁰

30 ஸபங்கொடி நாதக்கா யிடைவிடுபு மேவ
 னம்பொதிப் புட்டில் விரைஇக் குளவியொடு
 வெண்கு தானர் தொடுத்த கண்ணிய
 னறுஞ்சார் தணிந்த சேழ்கினர் மாற்பிற்

The last section of the poem which is called "The garden where fruit is matured," shows the old worship of Murugan mixed with the new mythology about him, so that we can watch the process of the welding of the Tamil and Ārya cults. "They mixed the panicum with

கொடுத்தொழில் வல்லித் கொலைஇய கானவர்
 நீடமை வினைத்த தேக்கட் டேறந்
 குன்றகச் செருமுக் கிளைபுடன் மகிழ்து
 தொண்டகச் சிறுபறைக் குரைய யயா
 விரலுளர்ப் பவிழ்த வேறபடு நறுக்காத்
 குன்றிசுனை பூத்த வண்டிபடு கண்ணி
 யினைத்த கோதை யினைத்த கடத்தன்
 முடித்த குல்லை விரிபுடை நறம்பூச்
 செங்கரன் மராதத்த வாலிண ரிடையிடுபு
 சுரும்புணத் தொடுத்த பெருத்தண் மரத்தழை
 திருத்தகா முவ்ரு நினைப்ப யுரு
 மயில்கண் டன்ன மடாடை மகளிரோடு
 செய்யன் சிவந்த வாடையன் செய்வரைச்
 செயலிவந் தண்டலிச் துயல்வருந் காதினன்
 கச்சினன் கழலினன் செத்தைக் கண்ணியன்
 குழலன் கோட்டன் குறும்பல் வியத்தன்
 தகரன் மஞ்ஞையன் புகரில் சேவலன்
 கொடிய னெடியன் நெடியணி தோள
 னாம்பார்த் தன்ன லிந்ருந் நெருதியொடு
 குறும்பொறிக் கொண்ட நறுத்தண் சாயன்
 மருங்கிற் கட்டிய சிலனேர்பு துவினன்
 முழவுறழ் தடக்கையி னியல வேந்தி
 மென்றோட் பல்பிணை தழீஇத் தலைத்தந்த
 குன்மதொ ருடறு கின்றதன் பண்பே...

flowers, cut up the ram, and planted the cock-flag,"³¹ in all sorts of places. "They daubed white mustard and ghi, muttered (prayers), worshipped him, throw beautiful flowers on him; they wore two pieces of cloth of different colours, tied red thread (round their wrists), scattered white fried rice, mixed white rice with the blood of the strong-legged ram, gave it as a minor offering, placed other dishes (before the god), and spiced green turmeric paste and fragrant sandal paste; they cut off the heads of garlands of the cool red oleander, raised it high, prayed that the hill-side villages might prosper, offered incense, and sang the Kuriñji tune. The hill-streams and the musical instruments sounded; they spread red flowers and panyam mixed with blood,"³²

³¹ இதறநினை மலரொடு விரைஇ மறியறுத்து
வாரணக் கொடியொடு வயிற்பட தீரீஇ

Ib. II. 218-219.

³² செய்யோ டையலி யப்பி யைறுரைத்துக்
குடர்தம் பட்டிக் கொழுமவர் தெறி
முரண்கொ ளுருவி னிரண்டி டைஇச்
செந்நூல் யாத்து வெண்பொசி தெறி
மதவலி லிலைஇய மாத்தாட் கொழுவிடைக்
குருதியொடு விரைஇய ஊவென் னரிசி
சிப்பலிச் செய்த பல்பிரப் பிர்இச்
இறுபக மஞ்சனொடு உறுவிரை தெளித்துப்
பெருத்தண் ணவீர உறுத்தண் மாலை
துணையற வறுத்துத் தூங்க நாற்றி
உயிமலைச் சிலம்பி னன்னகர் வாழ்த்தி
உறும்புகை யெடுத்தக் குறிஞ்சி பாடி
யிழிழிசை யருவியொ டின்னியல் உறங்க
வுருவப் பல்பூத் தூய் வெருவரக்
குருநிச் செந்நினை பரப்பி.

Tir. II. 228-242.

This is followed by an account of the birth of Kumāra, taken from Aryan legends. The poem ends with the phrase 'Lord of the hill on which there are orchards where fruits mature.'³²

From now, Murugan almost entirely dropped out Tamil literature for nearly three hundred years, Śiva and Viṣṇu claiming the undivided attention and the one-pointed devotion of Tamil poets.

³² பழமுதிர் சேலை மலைமேல் வேரவே.

1b, I, 317.



CHAPTER XXVIII

THE KALI COLLECTION ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY:

Kalittogai :

This anthology is the swan-song of the old Tamil literary tradition. The five songs that constitute this collection all belong to the VI century A. D., with the end of which century, the old love songs ceased to be composed, being ousted by the new kind of poems which were inspired by devotion to Śiva or Viṣṇu enshrined in particular temples of the Tamil country, and, therefore, in a vocabulary, choked with borrowings from Sanskrit. The few love-songs, now called *Kōvai*, that were composed in the later ages, though they nominally followed the Tamil tradition and followed the rules of *Tolkāppiyāṇār's* grammar and others of later date, with regard to the *Agam* class of poems, yet had as their subject-matter not human love, but that of the devotee, treated for the time as a woman, to God, conceived as the lover. Songs of human love did not entirely die out, but they degenerated into a very artificial love-poetry, quite the opposite pole to the realistic poetry of the early ages.

Old Imagery long drawn out :

Kali is a kind of metre in which the hundred and fifty poems of this collection are composed. As in the *Five Short Hundred*, each *tiṇai* was taken up by a separate author. The poems too were deliberately composed to

illustrate the rules of *Tolkāppiyānār*, and hence cannot be attributed to an age earlier than the VI century. This is also proved by the fact that the Aryan gods were well-established in the Tamil land before these poems were composed. But yet there are echoes of very old Tamil customs which had not died out in the VI century. Moreover whereas the older poems dealt briefly, as do sonnets, with one sentiment, in the *Kalittogai*, a single situation is beaten out into a long poem, artificially subdivided into parts. Thus the *Pālaikkali* deals with the misery of the heroine on account of the lover's proposal to go to far countries to earn wealth and her attempts to restrain him from going away. The agony is drawn out over many hundreds of lines of the first *Kali*. The other *Kalis*, too, go in systematic order through the whole gamut of love-incidents that according to *Tolkāppiyānār* constituted each class (*tiṇai*) of love-poetry. So that may be noticed a continuity of story in each *Kali*, and each *Kali* may almost be called the epopee of a particular *tiṇai*. As an example may be quoted the *Marudākkali*, which is the epic of harlotry, consisting of the speeches of the heroine, her companion, the erring lover, his mistresses, and the *pāṇan* (bard) who is the go-between that first secures mistresses for the hero and later tries to bring about a reconciliation between wife and husband. The result of this method of treatment is a wearisome repetition on a very large scale of the images and concepts of the five kinds of poetry, of which illustrations have been given in Chapter XVII. In the *Pālaikkali* by *Pālai pāṇiya Peruṇḡaṇḡō*, the heat of the sun, the mirage, the lack of roads, the superiority of the joys of love to the joys of wealth, the loss of beauty owing to the pangs of parting and the like incidents of *Pālai*

occur endlessly. As it is not possible to quote the whole or a large part of any one *Kālī* to prove this point, a specimen or two may be given of the repetition of the same sentiment in three successive passages. A mother searching for her daughter who had eloped with her lover was told the following words of consolation by an ascetic. "Sandal, with which many fragrant substances are mixed, gives pleasure to those that rub its paste on their body; but though born on the hills, what good does it do to them? If you think about it, your daughter will be to you (like the sandal to the hill). Excellent white pearls are useful to those that wear them; but, though born in the water (of the sea), what good do they do to the water? When you consider it, your daughter will be to you (like the pearls to the sea). The delightful notes from the seven strings are useful to the players; but, though born from the *yāl*, what good do they do to the *yāl*? When you enquire into it, your daughter will be to you (like the notes to the *yāl*)."¹

Here is another example:—Women who have been abandoned after the beauty of their shoulders have been enjoyed, are like a leaf-cup from which one has drunk

1 பலவுறு நறுஞ்சார்த்தம் படுப்பவர்க் கல்லதை
மலையுளே பிறப்பினு மலைக்கவையதா மென்செய்யு
நிலையுங்கா னும்மக னுமக்குமாய் கலையுளே
சீர்கெழு வெண்முத்த மணிபவர்க் கல்லதை
நீருளே பிறப்பினு நீர்க்கவையதா மென்செய்யுந்
தேருங்கா னும்மக னுமக்குமாய் கலையுளே
எழ்புண சின்னினை முடிப்பவர்க் கல்லதை
யாமுளே பிறப்பினும் யாழ்க்கவையதா மென்செய்யுந்
குழுவ்கா னும்மக னுமக்கு மாக்கலையுளே.

water with great desire. Women whose beauty has been enjoyed with great desire are like a town from which its dwellers have departed. Women whose beauty has been enjoyed by men who have embraced them, are like a flower which has been worn."² In these specimens there is at least variety of imagery; but there is no charm in the repetition ad nauseam of the fighting of elephants and tigers, the scaring off of parrots from the millet-field, the crawling of crabs on the sandy beach and the waves moving to and fro the boats from which fishermen catch fish; such constitute the bulk of Kalittogai.

Allegorization of images:

This tiresome repetition of imagery is partly due to the fact that a scheme of allegory had been developed and every natural object had become the symbol of something or other connected with love. This extensive use of symbols instead of the straight names of objects has become a disease of poetry and poems have thence degenerated into riddles. Such use of symbols, called uḷḷurayuvainam (Metaphor) occurs now and then in the early literature, and applies to single words or epithets but becomes an extensive allegory in this poem. The following is a specimen. "In the sweet-smelling spring

² தேரணல முண்டு ததர்சப் பட்டோர்
 வேனீ குண்ட குடையோ ரன்னர்
 எங்குள் புரிந்து அலமுணப் பட்டோர்
 எங்குள் போகிய ஆரோ ரன்னர்
 கடனார் புரிந்து குணனுணப் பட்டோர்
 குடின ரிட்ட பூவோ ரன்னர்

flowing from the broad rock where the bamboos cut off the desirable light of the morning sun, grows the fragrant, beautiful lily. The cluster of its flowers is mistaken for the rare-gemmed serpent drinking water. On the hill side where the flowers smell sweet flows the roar of the thunder when it rains hard and the wind shakes the huge hills. The men of the hill-hamlet rise from their sleep."² The allegorical interpretation of this beautiful passage as given by the commentator is:—The broad rock is the house of the heroine, the lily in the spring is the fair maiden whom her relatives are looking after, the fragrant lily looking like the serpent, is the love of the lovers, which though it will lead ultimately to a happy wedded life now appears as it were sinful, the flow of the sound of thunder along the hill-side is the spread of the rumours about their love-passages throughout the village, the villagers rising from their sleep is the obstruction to the even course of their love by her relatives placing a guard in the house to prevent her from meeting the lover. In some of the latest of the odes of Nāgarpai also occurs this kind of allegory and I think it is the reflection of Sanskrit love-poetry of late times, because this kind of "metaphysical poetry" is very rare in early Tamil literature before it was influenced by Sanskrit literature.

² மீடையல்வெல் சுதிர்க்காயும் வேயம லகலனைநக்
சுடிசனைக் கவினிய காதனம் குலையின
யருமணி யலிருத்தி யகலி குணம்செத்துப்
பெருமலை மிளிர்ப்பன்ன காற்றடைக் கனைபெய
றுகுழைக்கண் ணுறுதலி னுயர்குர வெலிபேயாடி
நதயிய னனஞ்சாரத் திணம்பலிற் சுதுமெனச்
சிறுகுடி துவிசெழுஉம்.

Aryan Similes :

In these poems several similes are drawn from Aryan mythology. Thus the companion of the heroine describes the proposed parting of the lover from his mistress in these terms:—"You have resolved to go along the hot, endless way, where the path is obstructed by rocks, cracked by the heat of the bright sun, as the (three) forts were destroyed by the fierce anger of the wielder of the battle-axe. The sun is like the face of the three-eyed God, when, being requested at the beginning (of creation) by Brahma, the Ancient, and other Gods to fell the necks of the rebellious Asuras, Śiva with the ferocity of Yama defeated in open fight the crafty Asuras and broke their three forts. Your sweet-heart who cannot forget you will die here (as soon as you go away)."⁴ A simile based on Aryan rites is found in "my breath comes in gasps like the smoke of the yajñas performed by Brāhmanas learned in the śruti,"⁵

- ⁴ தொடங்கற்கட் டோன்றிய முதியவன் முதலாக
வடந்தாநார் மிடஞ்சாய வமரகல் திரத்தலின்
மடங்கல்பொற் சினைஇ மாயஞ்செ யடிணைநாக்
கடத்தடி முன்பொடு முக்கண்ணுன் முவெயினு
முடன்றிகூன் முகம்பேல வொண்கதிர்தெறுதலிற்
பிறருங் கணிச்சியோன் சௌவலி னவ்வெயி
லேறுபெற்றதிர் கனபோல் வரைபினச் தியங்கூ
ராதுகெட வினங்கிய வழுவல் ராரிடை
மறப்பருங் காத விவளின் டொழிய
விறப்பத் துணித்தளிர்.

Kal. i. 2. ll. 1-10.

- ⁵ கேள்வி யந்தணர் கடவும்
கேள்வி யாவியி னுயிர்க்குமென் னெஞ்சே

Kal. i. 35. ll. 22-25.

and in "As the Rākṣasa king who had twice five heads inserted his hand shining with bangles under the high hill on which sat, along with Umā, the Brāhmaṇa God, whose locks are (always) wet and who bent the bow made from the Himalayan bamboo."⁶ This latter is a specimen of the many allusions to northern legends that occur in the anthology. The following is a specimen of similes taken not from nature, nor from legends but from the teachings of the Dharma Sastra and coming straight from later Sanskrit literature where such conceits abound. It also illustrates the intimate coalescence that had by that time taken place between Tamil and Sanskrit poetic imagery. "The leaves of the trees on the banks of the sweet water grow more and more, as does the wealth of the faultless man who gives unstintingly and follows the path of Dharma."⁷ All this is evidence that these Kāvī poems were begun after Aryan culture had attained a position of eminence in the VI century.

Persistence of the old poetical spirit :

The increase in the number of Aryan allusions does not mean that the old poetic fire was at all extinguished. Kaṇṇō thus describes the oncoming of spring:—"As

⁶ இமையலில் ஸாக்ஷிய வீரஞ்சடை யந்தன
 னுமையமர்ந் துயர்மலை யிருத்தன னு
 வையிரு தலையி னரக்கர் கோமான்
 னெழுப்பொலி நடக்கையிற் றெழுதுத் தம்மலை
 பெருக்கல் செவ்வா துழப்பவன் போல

Kal. ii, 2, ll. 1-5.

⁷ ஈதலிற் குறைகாட்டா தறனறிந் தொழுதிய
 திதிவான் செவ்வப்போற் றீங்கை மரந்த.

Kal. i, 27, ll. 1-2.

if the river desired to witness the spreading beauties of the great earth, and opened its eyes, flowers blossomed and beautified the tanks near; the petals of the murukku (coral flower) dropped from their stalks on the tanks and looked like coral fixed on crystal-like glass. The bees crowded and hummed when they saw themselves and the flowers reflected in the clear ponds. The buds of the trees on the banks opened out and adorned the tree like several kinds of gems. The spring scattered the pollen, even when the hands of women who have embraced their lovers were not taken out from below their lovers' arms."¹

Kabilar thus describes a lady :—" Like the clouds that penetrate between the interstices of the bright lightning, the (fivefold) partings of the hair fair like the lines cut on gold, shine between the fivefold plaits (on the head). Behind was the fragrant flower-garland in which at various places strips of Pandanus petals had been inserted. Sweet smiles adorned her teeth and sweet words beautified her mouth naturally red,"² This

¹ வீறுசரன் ஞாலத்து வியலணி காணிய
யாதுகண் விழித்தபோற் கயகந்திக் கவீன்பெற
மணிபுரை வயங்குட் டிப்பெறிந் தவைபோலப்
பிணிவிடு முருக்கித முணிகயத் துறிக்தகத்
துணிகய சிழுஞ்சுத்தித் துதைபுடன் வண்டர்ப்ப
மணிபோல வரும்பூழ்த்து மரமெல்லா மலர்வேயல்
காதலர்ப் புணர்ந்தவர் கவவுக்கை செகிழாது
தாதவிழ் வேணிலோ வத்தன்று.

Kal. i. 32 II. 1-8.

² மின்னொளி சமீபந் விடைபோளும் பெயலேபோத்
பொன்னகை தகைவகிர் வகைகெறி வயங்கிட்டிப்

is how a lover praises his mistress in the form of a conundrum :—“(Your) beauty is waning ; but you are not the decreascent moon. (Your face) has black (tilakam on the forehead and collyrium on the eyelids) ; but you are not the moon. You possess (shoulders like) the bamboo but you are not a hill. You have flowers (i. e., flower like eyes) ; but you are not a (mountain) spring. Your gait is slow ; but you are not a peacock. As you speak, you get tired ; but you are not a parrot.”⁹ This is another description but less like a conundrum “Your fair face is like the moon. The back of your head is like the black cloud near the moon which resembles your face. The flowers strung together with fine thread and with petals wet with honey, placed on the back of your head, resemble in beauty the Pleiades, being contrasted with (the hair which is like) a black serpent.”¹⁰

பேரழிடை விட்ட கமழ்தரும் பூங்கோதை
பின்னகை விலங்கெய்துத் தேமொழித்
தவிரச்செய்வாய்

Kal. ii, 19, II, 1-4.

9 இதேய்க் தன்று பிதைபு மன்று
மைதிர்த் தன்று மதியு மன்று
வேயமன் தன்று மனையு மன்று
பூவமன் தன்று ஈனையு மன்று
மெல்ல வியறு மயிறு மன்று
சொல்லத் தளரல் இனியு மன்று

Kal. ii, 19, II, 9-14

10 அனரிமுக மதியேய்ப்ப வம்மதியை களியேய்க்கு
மணரிமுக மாமழைதின் பின்னெப்பப் பின்னின்கண்
விரிதுண்ணல் சுற்றிய வீரித முலரி
யரவுக்கண் ணனியுத முரன்மீன் தகையொப்ப.

Kal. ii, 19, II, 9 4.

References to toy-chariots to which toy elephants were attached, occur in all the early poems; but Maruṇan Iṭanāṅaṇṇi, the author of Marudakkali, turns it to good use in the mouth of a wife whose husband has resorted to hetairas. "Let those who do not love you, neglect you. Come, my charioteer of a son, on whose soft head shine three strings of pearls, to me who have given you birth and who with an unchanging love may see you to the full satisfaction of my eyes. Slowly, slowly drag with the twisted soft rope, while the bells within your anklets tinkle, the elephant made by (human) hands, which does not require food and bears (on its back) a seat made of coral with bud-like bright pearls set on its edges. It is sweet to witness your tired, wobbling walk, while bright (little) bells (at your feet) tinkle; but it is bitter to see the girls who have conveyed my message to your father and have returned with their bangles slipping out of sorrow."¹¹

- 11 கயத்தலை மாறுவார் மாறுக மாறத்
கயத்தலை மின்னுங் கதிர்விநி முக்காழ்ப்
பயந்தவெங் கண்ணூர யாங்காண கங்கித்
திசழொளி முத்தத் கரும்பாகத் தைஇப்
பவழம் புனைந்த பருதி கமப்பக்
கவழ மறியாநின் கைபுனை வேழம்
புரிபுனை பூங்கயிற்றிற் பைபய வாக்ஞி
யசிபுனை புட்டிலி னுங்கனீர்த் திக்கே
வருகவெம் பாக மகன்
கொர்மணி யார்ப்பார்ப்பச் சாஅய்ச்சாஅய்ச் செவ்வுந்
தளர்கடை காண்ட வினிதமத் தின்னாதே
யுளமென்னு அந்தைமாட் டெவ்வ முழப்பார்
வனோகெழிற் பியாங்காணுங் கால்.

The following description of the evening is by Nallanduvanār, the author of Neydaṛkali and the editor of the Kali collection. "The sun, which resembled the discus with which he cut the skull of the murderous elephant on which was seated his foe, when the broad-chested One who wore a garland of cool, blown flowers, quelled the valour of his enemies who attacked him in a body, gathered together his rays and disappeared behind the hill. The broad ocean roared; and the sounding waves of the sea reached the shore as if to see the night. The banks of the backwaters lost their beauty because the bees had flown away. The flowers of the pond closed up their petals as if they had gone to sleep. The world took fear and trembled. The dark night causing distress to all, subjugated the wide earth."¹²

"The Song of the Pestle":

In the Kuṇḍikkali by Kabilar occurs a beautiful specimen of Vallaippāṭṭu. Vallaippāṭṭu is a song sung by two women while they are pounding grains in a wooden

12 மல்லரை மறஞ்சாய்த்த மலர்த்தண்டா ரகலத்தோ
 னெவ்வாறா ருடன்னோட வுருத்துட னெறித்தலிற்
 சொல்லாண யணிந்து வழுத்திய வாழிபோற்
 கச்சேர்பு ஞாயிறு அதிர்வாங்கி மறைதலி
 னிரும்புட லொலித்தாங்கே யிரவுக்காண்பது போலப்
 பெருங்கட லோதலீர் வீங்குபு சுறைசேர்ப்
 போடிய வண்டினுற் புல்லென்ற துறையவாய்ப்
 பாயக்கொன் பனைபோலக் கயமலர் வாய்கடம்ப
 கொருடிலையே கெக்குற்றி வுலகெனா மச்சுற
 விருதிலம் பெயர்ப்பன்ன வெவ்வகடர் மருண்மாளே.

Kal. v. 17 ll. 1-10.

mortar and consists of a series of strophes and anti-strophes sung alternately, each accompanying the down-coming of the pestle, to relieve the tedium of the monotonous work. The Kupava girls pound the panicum, with pestles made of the heartwood of a tree which grows on the hills, on a pit on a rock, which serves as a mortar. This practice coming down from the stone age is idealized and used as an incident in KuriŪji poetry and the occasion is used by maidens for alternately praising and damning the lover. (The foster-sister says). "Let us sing, my friend, as we like." (The maiden replies), "Let us pull the mature spikes of the millet whose heads are bent like (those of) shy girls with fair eyes and glad speech, raise alternately the pestle made of the ivory full of pearls, (pound the grains in) a mortar made of the wood of the sandal-tree on which buds grow, and sing as we like in praise of the hill which belongs to the man who has caused (in my bosom) the disease (of love) for which there is no remedy." (The foster sister then says), "Girl with a fair forehead, handsome locks, soft shoulders looking like the beautiful bamboo, and cheeks smelling like honey, I shall sing a song in praise (of the hill); you, too, sing a song eulogizing the fruitful hill where the bamboo grows in clusters."¹³ After singing about the hill, the foster sister and the heroine began to sing alternately praising and blaming the hero, in the style of the regular

13 ஆசலிணம் பாவெரார் தோழி யமர்க்க
ணைகமொழி எவ்வவர் காணு நிலைபொற்
நகைகொண்ட வேனலுட் டாழ்ஞா லுரிஇ
முனைவளர் சாந்துரன் முத்தார் மருப்பின்
வகைசா றுலக்கை வயின்வயி றேச்சிப்

val|aiippāṭṭa or 'pounding-song' (Foster-sister). "Friend, may you live long. Come, let us consider why the hill which belongs to the country of the shameless one who has neglected you is lower than the (next) hill on which flows the bright stream."

(Heroine). "Will he whose heart is inspired by truth, and whose conduct is as straight as the beam of a balance which does not lean to one side, desert and destroy the heart of one who loves him?" (Foster-sister.) "Beside the hill on the land of the worthless person who has neglected us, the neighbouring hills, on which the cool, fragrant Kōāgu flowers look like an elephant wearing gold ornaments," (Heroine). "Will he whose hands generously bestow chariots on those that seek his gifts and whose complexion is clearer than the water from his hills, desert me so that love-sickness may torment me?"

(Foster-sister). "The hill of the person who has caused us distress and hence made the bangles slip (from the hand), looks like the (useless) moon behind a cloud, whereas the next hill shines with honeycombs placed on its top and dripping with honey." (Heroine). "Do not ceaselessly speak about his cruelty. He who has bound my heart (with his love) is not one who will not be afraid of the evil conduct which other people shun."¹⁴

பணகவி நேருய் செய்தான் பயமலை யேத்தி
யகவினம் பாடுவா சாம்

* ஆய்ந்த வணிகத் தம்பனைத் தடமென்றோட
டேனாது சுதுப்பினா யானுமொன் நேத்துரு
வேய்நரன் விடாக நீ யொன்று பாடித்தை.

Kal. ii, 4, ll. 1-10.

The Bull-fight :

In the Mullaikkali by Śōlan Nalluruttiran, occurs an elaborate description of the ancient custom of the pastoral tracts called Ēṭutaluvudal, 'embracing the bull,' and of the practice of choosing husbands from those who come out successful in this adventure. The following is a specimen of the several songs describing this:—
 "The herdsman girls who had teeth like mullai buds and white quills arranged in a row, wide cool eyes, lovely speech and ears adorned with bright golden crocodile-shaped earrings, mounted the high platform to witness the capture of the bull by the owner of many

14. காணிய வாய்கழி தோழி வரைத்தாழ்பு
 வாணிநம் கொண்—வருவித்தே கம்மருளா
 காணிலி நாட்டு மலை
 ஆர்வுற்றார் எஞ்ச மழிய விடுவானே
 வேர்வுந் தொகுதிந் மொல்காத தேக்கோ
 லதம்புரி எஞ்சத் தவன்.
 தண்ணறுங் கோங்கமலர்ந்த வறையெல்லாம்
 பொன்னணி யாண்போற் றேன்றுமே கம்மருளாக்
 கொள்ளுள் னாட்டு மலை,
 கூருகோ யெய்ப்ப விடுவானே தன்மலை
 நீரினுஞ் சாய லுடைய னயந்தோர்க்குத்
 தேரீயும் வண்ணை யவன்.
 வறையினை மேற்றெடுத்தெய்க்க னிராஅன்
 கையுறவை நிகங்கன்போற் றேன்று மிழைகெழி
 யெவ்வ முறிஇயினுன் றுன்று,
 எஞ்சா தெல்லா கொடுமை றவவாதி
 யஞ்சுவ தஞ்சா வறணிலி யல்லனென்
 னெஞ்சம் பிணிக் கொண் டவன்.

cows who wore fragrant garlands of flowers which grow on rocks and in forests, such as the cassia which has soft clusters, the Kāyā (*Mamecydon Tinctorium*) which has thin flowers, the Veṭoi (*Ixora coccinea*) which has small leaves, the Piḍava, the Kōḍal (white *Gloriosa*), and the Pāṅgar. They (the girls) reached their platforms. Then the black bull with white legs which, like the stream flowing down the side of the gem-filled hill, had reached the limit of beauty, the specked bull, with beautiful white spots on brown skin, looking like the red cloudy evening sky shining with bright stars, and the brown bull whose horns were bent like the young moon worn by the murderous God (*Siva*) and other strong bulls which could fight (were driven into) the stall which was surrounded by fragrant creepers and resembled a large hill where lions, horses, elephants and alligators are assembled together and the rain is pouring. The bulls knew that the herdsmen had jumped into the stall with the desire to embrace them and pricked them with their horns. Then like the red garland around the crescent moon worn by the wielder of the battle-axe round which flames are burning, their horns were red with blood and had guts winding round them. Behold his greatness, dancing before the bull whose horns are wound round by his guts, he takes them with both hands and thrusts them into his stomach, just as when one holds in both hands a bundle of red thread, another parts it into three strands and takes it. O, young maid, see this (feat of strength), here. He, the son of the buffalo-herd, will not return without quelling its strength; he has sprung on the rough back of the fighting bull and embraced it like a garland. Maid, here (another), the son of the cowherd, will not cease to fight; he is

dancing on the (back of the) speckled bull looking like a man punting a canoe in the stream. In the sporting field to which many people have come, the herdsman has embraced the black bull which came like the wind and has crushed out its strength, thus appearing like the Lord when he broke with his feet the neck of Yaman who rides on a buffalo, and deprived him of life. To look at the fight strikes my mind with terror. O, young maid, see this feat of strength. Here he, the son of the shepherd, is lying on the side of the strong white bull, like the black spot on the moon. Behold the strength of the herdsman who is wearing the garland of Kāyā flowers, he has caught hold of the ears of the red bull that rushed on him with limitless speed, and quelled its strength, thus appearing like Māyūn when he caught the horse with a beautiful mane sent by his enemies, tore open its mouth and beat it with his fist. To behold it strikes my mind with terror."¹⁶

- 16 மெல்லணர்க் கொன்றையு மென்மலர்க் காயாயும்
 புல்லலை வெட்சியும் பிடவுந் தளவுந்
 குல்லையுந் குருத்துந் கோடலும் பாய்கருந்
 கல்லையுந் கடத்தையுந் சுமழ்கண்ணி மலைத்தனர்
 பல்லான் பொதுவர் சுதழ்விடை கோட்காண்மார்
 முல்லை முகையு முருந்து சிறைத்தன்ன
 பல்லந் பெருமழைந் கண்ணர் மட்டுசேர்ந்த
 சொல்லந் சுடருந் கனங்குழைந் காதினந்
 கல்லவர் கொண்டார் மிடை,
 அவர் மிடை கொள
 மணிவரை மருங்கி னருவி பேரல
 வணிவரம் பறத்த வெண்காற் காரிய
 மீன்பூத் தலிர்வரு மந்தியான் விசம்புபேரல்
 வான்பொறி பார்த்த புல்லி வெள்ளையுந்

கொலையன் குடியகுழவீத் திங்கன்போல்
 விலையு மலிந்த கோடணி சேயும்
 பொருமுதல் முன்பிற் புகலேறு பலபெய்
 தரிமாவும் பரிமாவும் களிதும் கராமும்
 பெருமலை விடரகத் தொருங்குடன் குழிஇப்
 பரிமறை யாடும் வரையகம் போலும்
 கொடியதை குழிந்த தொழுட,
 தொழுவினான், புரிபு புரிபு புக்க பொதுவரைத்
 தெரிபு தெரிபு குத்தின வேறு,
 ஏற்றின், அரிபரி பறப்பன் சுற்றி
 வெயிதிகழ் கணிசெயோன் குடிய பிறைக்க
 னுருவ மால் போலக்
 குருதிக்க கோட்டொடு குடர் வலத்தன்
 கோட்டொடு சுற்றிக் குடர்வலத்த வேற்றின்முன்
 னுடிகின் நக்குடர் வாங்குவான் பீடுகான்
 செந்தூற் சுழியொருவன் கைப்பற்ற வந்தலை
 முத்துவாக் கொள்வரனும் போனம்,
 இருளை யில்தொன்று கண்டை யில்தொத்தன்
 கோட்டினத் தாயர் மகனன்றே மீட்டொரான்
 போர்புக லேற்றுப் பிணொருத்திற் றத்துபு
 தார்போர் நழிஇ யவன்,
 இருளை யில்தொன்று கண்டை யில்தொத்தன்
 கோவினத் தாயர் மகனன்றே யோவான்
 மறையேற்றின் மேலிருந் தாடித் துறையம்பி
 ஆர்வான்போற் றேன் று மவன்,
 தொழிஇடு, காற்றுப்போல் வந்த சுதழ்விடைக் காரி
 ஆற்றாக் காத்தே படங்கக்கொண் டட்டதன் [யை
 மேற்றேன்றி லின்ற பொதுவன் நகைகண்டை
 யேற்றெருமை செஞ்சம் வடிம்பி னிடத்திட்டுச்
 சித்தமோ டாருயிர் கொண்டனான்
 நின்னன்கொல்
 கூற்றென வுட்கித்தென் னெஞ்சு,

Age of the poems :

In three of the poems of the Kalittogai occur vague references to Korakai, Madura, and the Pāṇḍiyan (without specifying the name of any king). This, together with the fact that the Aryan allusions are so many, indicates that the Kali poems all belong to the VI century A. D. In that century, Aryan culture rapidly got the upper hand and the old landmarks of ancient Tamil life began to disappear from Tamil poetry or take a very secondary place in the life of the people. Aryan tales gathered round the Tamil gods, so far as they could be identified with Aryan gods of similar functions. Religious syncretism reached its climax. The Aryan customs, too, began to be mingled with Tamil customs and Aryan superstitions with Tamil ones. The Madura country was in a state of political anarchy, the Kalappāla and the Pāṇḍiya, constantly struggling for supremacy. Hence the poems vaguely refer to Pāṇḍiya kings without specifying any one royal patron of letters as do the earlier poems.

இருளை யிஃதொன்று சண்டை யிஃதொத்தன்
புல்லினத் தாயர் மகனன்றே புள்ளி
வெறுத்த வயவென்றேற் றம்புடைத் திங்கண்
மறப்போற் பொருத்தி யவன்
நுவா வேகமோ மருத்தத்தன் மேற்சென்ற
சேஞ்ச செவிமுதற் கொண்டு பெயர்த்தொத்தும்
காயம்பூங் கண்ணிப் பொறுவன் நகைகண்ணை
மேலார் வீடுநந்த கடத்தற் குதிரையை
வாய்ப்பகுத் திட்டிப் புடைத்தனான் நின்னன்கொண்
மாயோனென் றுட்கிற்றென் னெஞ்சு.

Kal. iv, 3 ll. 1-55.

CHAPTER XXIX

REMAINING LITERATURE OF THE AGE BEFORE 600 A. D.

The five Short Hundred :

This anthology contains 5 sets of a hundred stanzas each, one on each of the five *tiṇais*. Each hundred was composed by one poet and is subdivided into ten sets of ten odes each, each ten on one sub-incident of one of the *tiṇais*, more or less as defined by *Tolkāppiyānār*. As each poet definitely set about illustrating the categories of the grammarian, the anthology is not a collection of occasional poems. As they were composed after the *Tolkāppiyam* had become the supreme directing authority which poets were bound to follow, the odes are wanting in spontaneity and are useless for our purpose. Hence it is not proposed to translate any of these odes. None of the poems could have been composed earlier than the V century A. D..

The Paripāḍai Seventy :

Of the seventy poems of this collection, only twenty-two and a few fragments are available. Of these, six are about Viṣṇu, 8 about Murugan, eight about the river Vaiyai (Vaigai). The shrines, Tirupparaṅ-Suṅgam and Tirumālirūṇjōlai are referred to in the songs about gods. The authors' names so far as known show that they belonged to the VI century. This is confirmed by the abundant Aryan allusions and Sanskrit words in the poems. They were set to music by later persons.

A description of the sky during an eclipse in poem 11 has been used in an attempt to fix the date of the composition of the poem by astronomical calculations, but it has proved a failure, because the information in the text is not enough for calculating the date without adventitious unwarranted assumptions and the information supplied by the annotator has made confusion worse confounded.

The poets of the Pāripadal belonged to the Madura district, as can be inferred from the subject-matter of their poems. They were apparently content with the blessings of the divine objects of their eulogy.

The Eighteen minor poems :

The Kīlkanakku, eighteen in number, are contrasted with the mēṭkanakku, the name of the eight-fold anthology and the Ten Songs. These eighteen poems range in date from the VI to the VIII century A. D. In two stanzas of the Nālaḍiyār, usually counted as one of the eighteen minor poems, a chief of the Muttaraiyar clan who lived in the VIII century is referred to. These poems are of three classes. (1) One poem dealing with the victory on the field of battle of a Sēla king called Śeṅgaṇān, in which the author revels in images of slaughter and of the flow of blood on the battle-field. (2) Five poems dealing with the tinais of Agam, like the Five Short hundred. These two represent the dying echoes of the vanishing tradition of old Tamil love and war poetry (Agam and Puṇam). (3) Twelve didactic poems, treating chiefly of ethics, and social conventions which two are sometimes inextricably bound with each other. These poems are imitations of the Sanskrit Nīti Śāstra poems, which

became very popular in this age throughout India. Hence these poems belong to the age when Aryan culture had become very firmly established in South India. Most of the poems of this class can be called poetry only because they are in metrical form. Absolutely devoid of the poetic fire of the earlier Tamil poetry, they are valuable only because, teaching morality of the highest order, such as has not been rivalled by the teachings of any other of the world's teachers, they are put in verse, which can be memorized and quoted when moral lessons are intended to be driven home into the minds of the young. As poetry, they are the dreariest imaginable.

The Tirukkuraḷ :

This poem is now well-known to the world, on account of the Latin and English translations of European scholars. These scholars, having been mainly Christian ecclesiastics, have been attracted by the excellent ethics taught in it in a special kind of short stanza, with very much meaning concentrated in very few words. Father Beschi, the greatest of European Tamil scholars, is said to have remarked that the tongue of Tiruvaḷḷuvar who sang the aphorisms of Kuraḷ could not have gone to Hell, even though, being Pagan, he must have gone there. It is not necessary to speak of the contents of this poem which has secured the admiration of the world, because translations have made it familiar to enquirers.

The 'short verse' (Kuraḷ) of this poem is a very successful imitation of the Sūtra style of Sanskrit writers on pseudo-scientific subjects; the Kuraḷ Vēṇḇā is superior to the Sūtra, because it is in poetic form

whereas the latter is in prose. The verse is firmly knit and the author, here and there, uses poetic images to relieve the dreariness of direct didactics. Artists have always refused to admit didactic poetry into the legitimate realms of the Muse, but if excellence of workmanship and the occasional illumination of moral teaching by flashes of true poetic fire can justify the acceptance of any didactic poem as true poetry, the Tirukkural is that poem. A few examples, chosen at random will prove this. "He who guards the five (senses) with the fence of strength is seed for the land of bliss."¹ "Those who lose wealth may blossom (again) in some (future) season (like a tree that has shed its flowers); those who have lost mercy have lost (everything), and can scarcely change (to a better state)."² "As gold shines (more and more) when it is burnt (more and more) in fire, so when pain burns more and more the (mind of the) ascetic, it becomes brighter (and brighter)."³ "As the bird flies away leaving the nest bare, so is the union of the body and the soul."⁴ "The life of the man who does not guard against it before (danger) comes, will be destroyed like straw before the flame."⁵ "The world flourishes,

¹ உசனென்னுக் தேரட்டியா னோரைத்துல் காப்பான்
வசனென்னும் னையபிந்நோர் வித்து.

Kural. 44.

² பொருளற்றார் பூப்ப சொருகா னொன்றா
தற்றார்மற் றுத லரிது.

Kural 248.

³ கடச் கடனும் போன்போ னொளியிடுத் துன்பந்
கடத்தட நோந்திற் பவர்க்கு.

Kural. 267.

⁴ குடம்பை தனித்தொழியப் புட்பநச் தந்தே
யுடம்போ இயிசடை நட்பு.

Kural. 338.

looking up to the sky (for rain); so subjects look up to the king's sceptre (for protection)."⁶ "Like scentless flowers made into a garland are those who cannot clearly expound what they have learnt."⁷ "Love is an ocean of joy; but when obstructed it is bigger than the ocean".⁸

The Tirukkural is frequently called Muppāl, the Trivarga, the three objects of life; it is divided into three parts, respectively devoted to Āgam, Poruḷ, and Inbam, which are Tamil translations of Sanskrit Dharma, Artha and Kāma. In the treatment of the first two, the author borrows freely from Sanskrit Śāstras, for in the Tamil literature before Tiruvalluvar's time, didactic poetry did not exist. Āgam, right conduct, such as the constancy of a maiden to her lover, was, if at all, indirectly taught and Poruḷ, the science of politics, had not been developed at all. In the third part, Kamattuppāl, the part dealing with love, Tiruvalluvar recognized not only the old Tamil distinction between Kaḷavu and Kaṇṇu, love before marriage and vice versa, but follows the Tamil poetic tradition of the course of love mainly as

⁵ யருமுன்னர்க் காவாதான் வாழ்த்தை யெரிமுன்னர் வைத்துற போலக்கெடுத்.

Kural, 435.

⁶ வாடுறெத்தி வாடு முவகெல்லா மன்னகன்
கொடுறெத்தி வாடுங் குடி.

Kural, 542.

⁷ இனாழித்து ஈனா மவனையர் சுற்ற
துணர் விரித்துணையர் நார்.

Kural, 650.

⁸ இன்பங் கடன்மற்றுக் காம மிதவென்காற்
தன்ப மதவறிற் பெரிது.

Kural, 1166

propounded by Tolkāppiyānār. But whether he borrows his material from Sanskrit or follows Tamil tradition, he displays an originality of treatment and a sequence of ideas entirely his own, which contributes much to the merit of the poem.

From the predominance of Aryan ideas and the free use of Sanskrit words, Tiruvalluvar cannot be assigned to any century earlier than the VI. He was, according to tradition, born at Mylapore (Madras), an ancient seaport in the Pallava dominions. This may well be true for the extent to which Tiruvalluvar's mind was soaked in Aryan culture could have been easily possible only in the Kāñcī district what had been Aryanized for a thousand years before the poet's time, whereas the rest of Tamil India had come under the spell of Aryan culture just before his time. Early in the VI century Aryan cults—Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Bauddha and Jaina, were fast displacing, or penetrating into, the older Tamil cults. In the beginning these cults were not much opposed to each other, because no one cult secured royal patronage to the exclusion of the rest. Hence moralists, like Tiruvalluvar and the authors of other didactic poems of the Padineṭṭiṭṭaṇakku, were able to teach pure morality without associating it with the dogmas or the basic philosophical principles of any one of the Aryan cults. Hence Tiruvalluvar shines forth as one of the world's greatest teachers of pure ethics, without discovering to his readers what particular shade of religion he favoured. Every caste from the Brāhmaṇa to the Paraiya, and every religious sect, Vaidika or Avaidika, has claimed the honour of including in its fold this great poet-moralist, but Tiruvalluvar has during all these ages scornfully refused to be thus labelled.

Absurd legends have been invented about the birth of Tiruva||uvar and about the publication of his poem. The latter legend says that when it was presented to the "Third Saṅgam," its members refused to admit its merit. They sat on a plank which floated on a tank and when the Tirukkura|| was placed on it, the plank shrank so small as to afford room only for the book. The members sank in the water and when they came to the bank, composed, each a song, in honour of the poem. These poems are collected in an anthology called Tiruva||uvamālai, 'the garland for Tiruva||uvar' and are generally printed along with the Tirukkura||. One absurdity of the legend consists in the fact that among the obtuse members of the Saṅgam was included the God Śivan. Among the men that composed these laudatory stanzas are men of different ages, e.g. Māṅguḍi Marudanār, Uruttirasaṁmā, Pāradam Pāḍiya Perundēvanār, Kaviśāgara Perundēvanār, Nariverūttalaiyār, Kulapati Nāyanār, etc., men with Sanskrit names, men with Tamil names fifty-three in number. Perhaps the only kernel of truth in these legends is the jealousy felt by the poets who kept up the old tradition for a poet from the remote, Aryanized Pallava country and for a poem based on Sanskrit culture, and introducing a novel tradition in Tamil literature.

The Indebtedness of the Kura|| to Sanskrit Literature : *

That the author of the Kura|| must have been a good Sanskrit scholar and must have made a special

* This paragraph has been furnished by V.R.B. Dikṣitar, Lecturer in Indian History, Madras University, who intends bringing out a brochure fully pointing all Tiruva||uvar' Sanskrit sources.

study of the Nīti and Artha Śāstra literature is evident. A comparison of the stanzas of the Kuṇḍa with the Sanskrit literature on the subjects shows clearly how Tiruvalluvar was influenced by the Sanskrit writers on the four objects of human life, the Puruṣārthas of the Aryan sacred books. Tiruvalluvar has divided his book into three sections as if he were concerned only with the Trivarga. But in dealing with Aram or Dharma, he has devoted some sections to the value of renunciation, the means to the fourth Puruṣārtha viz., Mokṣa. Apparently Tiruvalluvar thought that the Trivarga, if properly followed, would automatically lead to the realization of Mokṣa. Whatever this may be, the Kuṇḍa is a treatise on the three objects of human life.* It is reasonable to assume that Tiruvalluvar follows mainly in his Arappāl the most popular Dharma Śāstra of Manu, and in his Poruṣpāl the well-known Artha Śāstra of Kauṭilya. Though these works seem to be the main sources of information, it can be conclusively proved that the poet was familiar with the Pañcatantra and Hitopadeśa, the ślokas included in the Śatakas of Bhartṛhari, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Kamandaki nītiśāra, and other allied literature. Many of these books range from the VI century B. C. to the IV century A. D. and Bhartṛhari's works (c. 650 A. D.) contain verses from the Śākuntala of Kālidāsa, the Mudrārāksasa of Viśākhaḍatta and other well-known works. The same is true of several stanzas occurring in the Pañcatantra and the Hitopadeśa. These claim no originality. Apparently floating nīti verses have

* See Dikṣitar, Hindu Administrative Institutions, p. 35 ff.

been incorporated in these works, with a view to popularize them. Hence from the consideration of the obligations of Tiruvalluvar to Sanskrit works, his date cannot be fixed.

The following among a host of examples will prove this indebtedness.

The Kuṇḍali says :

'He is a householder who is actuated by the best of motives and who does good by maintaining the other three orders.'¹⁰ The Mānava Dharma Śāstra rules to this effect : 'The householder's life is the best, as it is he who sustains daily the other three orders by means of virtuous deeds and the giving of alms.'¹¹

'He attains fame in the seven worlds, who, reduces the five into one, like a tortoise.'¹² The Bhagavad Gītā furnishes a parallel : 'Bliss comes to him who restrains the senses from objects of desire, as a tortoise withdraws all her limbs (into its shell)'.¹³

¹⁰ இவ்வாழ்வா னென்பா னரியல்புடைய மூவர்க்கு
எல்லாற்றினி ன்ற துணை,

Kuṇḍali, 41.

¹¹ Yasmātrayo' thyāśramiṇo jñānenānnena cānvaham |
Ghasthenaiva dhāryante tasmājjyēṣṭāśramo
gṛhī ||.

Man. 3. 78.

¹² ஒருமைபு னாமைபோ னெத்தடக்க லாற்றி

னெழுமைபு மேமாப் புடைத்து. Kuṇḍali, 126.

¹³ Yadi saṁharate cāyam kūrmaṅgāṁśiva sarvaśaḥ |
Indriyānīndriyārthebhyastasyaprajñā pratiṣṭitā ||.

Ib. II. 58.

'Where can you find grace in him who feeds his flesh with the flesh of other creatures.'¹⁴ In Manu, 'He is devoid of virtue who desires to feed the flesh of his body with the flesh of other creatures, except as oblations to the manes and the deities.'¹⁵

'When one gets rid of lust, anger and delusion of all kinds, then shall perish all his troubles.'¹⁶ In the Gītā, 'That man who gives up all desires and leads a life bereft of lust anger and delusion shall attain bliss.'¹⁷

'He is a lion among kings who owns the following six requisites : an army, a territory of peoples, wealth, ministry, allies and fortresses.'¹⁸ The Arthasāstra mentions seven elements of a state¹⁹ including the king. Leaving out the king the other six are a ministry, a country, fortresses, an army, allies,

'There must be a well conceived plan of work before actually doing it lest the world will not approve

¹⁴ தன்னுள் பெருக்கற்குந் தான்விதி தானுண்பா
செய்வனமானு மருள். Kuṣa, 251

¹⁵ Svāmāmsam paramāmsena vardhayitumicchatī
anabhyarcya pitṛn devāstathonyo nāstyapunyaḥkṛt. §.
Ib. v. 52.

¹⁶ காமம் வெகுளி மயக்க நிலைமுன்றி
குமல் செடச்செடி போய். Kuṣa, 360

¹⁷ Vihīya kāmānyah servān puṁsāncarati nityasah
Nirmamo nirahankārah sa śāntimadhigacchati
Ib. II. 71.

¹⁸ படை குடி கடமுமைச்சு கப்பர னுறு
முடையா னரசரு போறு. Kuṣa, 381

¹⁹ Svāmyamātyajanapada durga kośadandamitrāṇi.
Bk. VI Ch. I.

of it and even despise it.²⁰ The ruling of Parāśara is that the king must consult with the ministers as to the plan and execution of a work, before he launches on it.²¹ 'One should examine before he undertakes an expedition the force it would demand, his own force and that of his allies as well as the strength of his enemy.'²² Kautālyā says, 'one undertakes an expedition if one thinks 'I have enough strength to vanquish the enemy by my own force or that of the allies,' and 'to the contrary is that of the enemy.'²³

Those will be appointed (to a Government job) who will fully satisfy the fourfold test of dharma, wealth, pleasure and fear.²⁴ The Artha Śāstra mentions similar tests before one is entertained for service—the test of dharma, artha, kāma and bhaya.²⁵

²⁰ வன்னாத வெண்ணிக் கெயல் வேண்டுந் தம்மொடு
கொன்னாத கொன்னா னவகு.

Kuṣṭh. 470.

²¹ Yadasya kāryamabhipretam tatpratirūpakam
mantrināḥ procheṭ. | kāryasūdamamevamaśidevam vā | adi
bhavettas katham kartavyamiṭi te yathā brūyus tat
kuryāt. (Artha Śās. I. ch. 10).

²² வீணாவலியுந் தன்வலியு மாற்றான் வலியுந்
துணைவலியுந் துக்கித் தெயல்.

Kuṣṭh. 471.

²³ Yadi vā paśyet—"svaṇḍair mītrāṣṭaviḍṇair
vā samam jyāyamaṣam vā karṣayitumutsahe" iti
.....sampaññā me vartā, vipaññā parasya.....
(Artha Śās. Bk VII. 4).

²⁴ அறம்பொருளின் பழையிரத்த னாண்மின்
திறத் தெரிந்து தேரப்படும்.

Kuṣṭh. 501.

²⁵ dharmopadhā, arthopadhā, kāmopadhā, bhayo-
padhā (see for details Arth. Śās. Bk. I, ch. 10)
Trivargabhūyasamaśudhānamītyiṣveṣu karmasu
adhikuryādyanthāsaucamityiṣkēryā vyavasthitāḥ

'Let the king watch the movements of his servants every day. If they do the right, the world goes undisturbed.'²⁶ 'Having appointed the servants in their places after the tests, the king must observe their conduct by means of secret officers.'²⁷

'The proper method of awarding justice is to fully examine everything, in an impartial spirit, and with due regard to dharma'.²⁸ 'It is *daṇḍa* that protects both this world and the other. In meting out justice the king must regard both sons and foes as equal. He who metes out punishment with proper regard to dharma and equity, he alone conquers the whole world.'²⁹

'If the king does not extend his hand of right protection, then cows will not yield milk, neither will the

²⁶ *தோறு அரசிக மன்னன் நினைசெய்வான்
கேசடாமை கேரடா தலகு.

Kuṭṭi, 520

²⁷ tasmādbāhyamadhīṣṭānam kritvā kūr̥yo
caturvidho

śaucāśaucamamātyānām rāja mārgeta satribhiḥ.

(Arth. Śās. Bk. I 10).

Cp. Rām. VII. 53-6.

²⁸ தஞ்சுதகண்ணோடா திறைபுரிக் தியார்மாட்டி
தேர்ந்து செய் வகிதே முறை. Kuṭṭi 541.

²⁹ Daṇḍo hi kevalo lokam param eamam rakṣati
Bājñāputrecaśatrau ca yathādoṣam samam dṛṣṭvā
Anuśāsaddhi dharmṇa vyavahāreṇa samsthayā
Nyāyena ca caturthona caturantām mahīm jayet
(Artha. Śās Bk. III. Ch. I).

Brāhmaṇas cultivate their sacred lore.³⁰ 'If daṇḍanīti is not properly administered, the three vedas will vanish and with it all righteous deeds.' Again, 'the duties of śrāmaṇas again disappear when the kṣātrya dharma of the king becomes lost.'³¹

It can be called a land where there are unfailing crops, a company of righteous men, and ample wealth. It is a land which men desire to possess on account of its fertility, and undiminished yield, and which is free from calamities.³² 'That grāma must be chosen for dwelling by the righteous where fuel, water, food, sacred grass, and garlands and vast open spaces are in plenty, where there are many wealthy people, where there are many honourable people, full of the quality of enthusiasm, and which affords defence from robbers.'³³

³⁰ சூபயன் குன்று மதச்சொழிலோர் தன்மதப்பர்
காயலன் காவலனெனின்.

Kural. 560.

³¹ Mañoctrayī daṇḍanītan hatāyām
Sarve dharmāḥ prakṣyeyuḥ viruddhāḥ
Sarve dharmāḥ śrāmāṇām hatāyūḥ
Kṣātre naṣṭaḥ śāradharmo purāṇa ||

Mhb. Śānti, 112, 28.

³² தன்னை வினையுஞ் தக்காரஞ் தாழ்விவாத்
செய்வருஞ் சேர்வது காடு.
பெரும்பொருளாற் பெட்டக்க தாயிருக்கேட்டா
லாதற் வினையது காடு.

Kural. 731-732.

³³ Prabhūtaidhodaikayavasasamītkuṣamālyopanīskra-
maṇamādhyaṇīkulaṁanālasasamīdhamāryaṇa-
bhūyisṭamadaṣyupraveśyam grāmaṁāvasītuṁ
yateta dharmikah | . Bauddhāyana dharma sūtra
Praśna II ; adhyāya III, sūtra 51.

The *Ṣilappadigāram* :

This is the first great epic poem in Tamil. The Epic form was borrowed from Sanskrit, but with respect of the subject-matter it is entirely original. The poem as we now have it is interspersed with a number of prologues, and epilogues, apparently by later hands than those of the author. It has already been pointed out that one of the prologues contradicts the statements in third canto.³⁴ The poem itself does not name the Pāṇḍiyan whose foolish behaviour brought about the destruction of Madura which is the final catastrophe of the poem ; but the epilogue to the second canto identifies him with the Neḍuñjeliyan who defeated the army of the Āryas and who composed *Puṇam* 183. It says, " He conquered the army of the Northern Āryas and saw the Southern Tamil country united. Along with his queen of incomparable chastity, on his royal throne, he died, the Pāṇḍiyan Neḍuñjeliyan."³⁵

Thus the writer of the epilogue interprets the phrase ஆரியப் படை கடந்த as " having defeated the Northern Aryans " whereas it may also mean, having crossed the place called Āryappaḍai, an ancient battle-field near Kumbhakōṇam.

³⁴ Vide p. 380, *supra*.

³⁵ வடவாரியப் படைகடந்து

தென்றமிழகம் பொருங்குதகாணப்

புறந்தீர் உற்பின் தேவி தன்னுட

னகரசு கட்டிலிற் துஞ்சிய பாண்டிய

செனடுஞ் செழியன்

Ṣil. Epil. to canto II, ll. 14-18.

Cantos I and II :

The poem is divided into three cantos, the scenes being laid respectively at Pūgār, Madura and Vāñji. But cantos I and II constitute a finished poem, Śilappadigāram means 'the Book of the Anklet' and relates the story of a reformed prodigal, Kēvalan, who proposed to sell his wife's anklets for setting up business, but was executed, on a false charge of theft by the orders of the king of Madurai, whereupon the infuriated wife, Kāṇṇagi, cursed the king and screwed out one of her breasts and threw it at the town, and a fire springing from it burnt down the city. The husband and wife thereon ascended to heaven. This story is narrated in the first two cantos, which therefore constitute a complete poem. At the end of the II canto the hero and heroine depart from the earth and the story of the anklet ends and we hear no more of the jewel. So the name Śilappadigāram can apply only to the first two cantos. The two cantos form one of the greatest epic poems of the world. The story is exceedingly well told. The descriptions of natural scenery and of the manners and customs of people are splendid. The dialogues that occur often are very spirited. And above all, thanks to the Tamil poetic tradition which the Sanskrit models the had author before him could not suppress, the *deus ex machina* is kept practically out of sight and the tendency of epic poets to indulge in the marvellous is well held under control, though the legends about kings current in the author's time are not excluded from the poem. The persons of the narrative are all ordinary human beings and the human interest of the poem is not eclipsed by the intrusion of the preternatural. Hence this epic

poem is in certain respects superior to the *Rāmāyaṇam*, or the *Iliad*, the *Aeneid* or the *Paradise Lost*.

Canto III :

The third canto has a Śera king, *Seṅguttuvan*, as its hero and it deals with the greatness of this monarch and his victorious expedition to Northern India. The connection with the first two cantos is kept up by making out the object of the expedition to be to fetch a piece of stone from the Himalayas and by describing, in the manner prescribed in the *Poruḷadigāram*³⁶ of *Tolkāppiyam*, how the stone was set up in honour of *Kaṇṇagi*, accompanied with Aryan and Tamil rites. Hence the third canto cannot with any appropriateness be called *Śilappadigāram*, the Book of the Anklet. It is a question worth investigation, whether the author of the complete poem i. e., the first and second cantos, after dismissing the anklet from his purview and despatching

³⁶ காட்சி காங்கோ ஸீர்ப்படை எடுக்க

செய்ததஞ் செப்பிற் பெரும்படை வாழ்த்தல்.

Poruḷadigāram, 60. 19-20.

The different incidents of this ceremony are 'Getting the stone, outlining the figure on it, washing it, fixing it in the ground, making offerings to it and blessing it.' In accordance with this the chapters of canto III dealing with this subject are called respectively *காட்சிக்காரை*, *காங்கோட்சாரை*, *சீர்ப்படைக்காரை*, *எடுக்காரை*, which includes the offering, *செப்பிற் பெரும்படை*, and *வாழ்த்துக்காரை*. Thus the third canto belongs to the age when the *Tolkāppiyam* had changed from a descriptive grammar to a prescriptive one.

his hero and heroine to heaven, deliberately ruined the unity of his Epic by adding a third canto, whose chief object was to glorify a Śenguttuvan. I do not think such a great artist would have thus spoilt his own poem. Moreover the supernatural, so much in the background in the first two cantos, is very prominent in the third. Again in the first two cantos, the country through which Kōvalan and Kannagi travelled, from Pugār to Madura, via Śrīraṅgam, is minutely and beautifully described in several chapters, whereas in Canto III, Śenguttuvan leaves the Nilagiris and then immediately appears on the banks of the Ganges, and *vice versa* on the return journey; thus the author avoids the splendid opportunities of describing the scenery of the Deccan, the Vindhya, and the Gangetic valley through which Śenguttuvan ought to have passed. In addition, tales of past lives, such as were popularized by the Bauddhas, abound in this canto. Hence I suggest that some qualified Tamil scholars will investigate by means of metrical tests, and, by examining the diction and imagery employed, find out whether the third canto is by the same author as the first two.

Śenguttuvan :

Śenguttuvan is the hero of the third canto. The author identifies him with Kaḍal Pīrakkottiya Vēlkeḷu Kuṭṭuvan, the hero of Paravar's poem, the fifth ode in the Paḍirupattu, and attributes the latter's exploits mentioned in that ode to Śenguttuvan. But neither the name Śenguttuvan nor his expedition to North India is mentioned in the ode. Kuṭṭuvan, Śēral, etc. were the general titles of all Śēra kings, as Killi, Valavan, etc., of Śōla kings and Śēliyan, Valudi, etc., of Pāṇḍiya kings.

When a specific name had to be given to any one of these kings (and this was not always necessary, because for ordinary purposes the mere dynastic title was enough, and there was a general sentiment against the use of personal names of kings), an epithet was prefixed to the family name, e.g., *Peruñjēral*, *Kaḍal Pirakkōṭṭiya Vēlkelu Kuṭṭuvan*, *Perunarkilli*, *Karikāl Valavan*, *Neḍuñjeliyan*, *Ukkirapperu vaḷudi*, etc. This was the only kind of personal names used by Tamil kings till, after the spread of the Āryan cults, they took to Sanskrit titles, and Sanskrit names of gods. Hence as *Kaḍal Pirakkōṭṭiya Vēl Kelu Kuṭṭuvan* and *Seṅguṭṭuvan* were both personal names, if they were the same person, it would be a case of one man having two names, which was not usual in old times. The exploits of *Seṅguṭṭuvan* described in the third canto of *Śīlappadigāram* are as incredible as those of the hero of Parinar's ode are credible. He marches from the Nilagiris to the banks of the Ganges without any trouble. The poem makes *Nūṟṟavar Kannar*, whose sway extended from the Nilagiris in the Northern boundary of the Śēra country to the Gangetic region offer rather humbly to help *Seṅguṭṭuvan* to reach his destination. The phrase *Nūṟṟavar Kannar* cannot be anything other than a bad translation of *Sātakani*. The *Sātakani* sway extended up to the Ganges region only before 77 A. D., from whence it gradually shrank before the increasing power of the Śaka-Pallavas. Canto III then makes *Seṅguṭṭuvan* defeat a number of Trans-Gangetic monarchs, for whose existence there is no other evidence, literary or epigraphical, and makes two of the kings carry on their heads the stone which was to represent the deceased lady *Kannagi*. All these must be

tables, because the transport of an army of the size necessary for the purpose of fighting with the Trans-Gangetic monarchs is a thing that can be imagined only by a Tamil poet ignorant of the geography of India. Indian history affords only one instance of a Tamil army marching up to the banks of the Ganges, and that was the army of Rajendra Śōlādēvar, whose sway already extended to the Mahanādi and from that river to the Ganges it is but a short step. The only other instance of the march of an army from Delhi to Ramēgvaram is that of the expedition of Malik Kāfur, but right up to the heart of Tōlīngāna i. e. more than half the distance was already a part of the Delhi Sultanate. We are thus forced to conclude that Śēnguttavan's northern expedition was invented by a poet ignorant of Indian Geography, and could appear credible only to those ignorant of Indian History. This is another reason why the third canto of Śīlappadigāram, even though it be conceded to be a genuine part, and not a supplement, of the poem, ought not to be used as a reliable source of ancient South Indian history.

The Kāṇṇagi cult:

The third canto is mainly concerned with the Kāṇṇagi-cult, supposed to have been established by Śēnguttavan and adopted by the kings of Mālva, Uṇaiyūr and Ceylon. There is no trace of that cult any where in India; it is still to some extent prevalent in Ceylon, the Buddhism of that island having given it some kind of shelter. In South India, on the contrary, the only Pattini cult that is universally spread is not the worship of Kāṇṇagi, but is a modification of the ancient worship of the village guardian-goddess regarded as an aspect of Kālī and syncretized with

Draupadī, the *pattini* par excellence, though the common wife of five brothers. Hence it is probable that the third canto of Śilappadigāram represents an abortive attempt to introduce the Kāṇṇagi-cult as the rival of the Draupadī-cult.

Need for further investigation :

All this may appear as a piece of hypercriticism, especially to those who have regarded every statement in the Śilappadigāram, including the Prologues and Epilogues and commentaries which certainly belong to comparatively recent times, as gospel truth. But I hope that my tentative suggestion will at least lead to a study of the poem according to modern methods of criticism. By mixing up all these statements and those in the prologue to the Maṇimēgalai, the theory has arisen that the former poem was composed by Ilangovalikal, a Jaina Saṃyāsī and brother of Śenguttuvan, on information supplied by Śāttanār, who claims to have been in Madura when the final catastrophe of Śilappadigāram took place and who is believed to have composed the Maṇimēgalai. But this theory cannot be accepted because an examination of "the twin-epics" shows that the Śilappadigāram refers to a period when the Tamil concepts and practices were just blending with each other, each being as important as the other in the life of the Tamil people: not so the Maṇimēgalai, which portrays the life in the Tamil country when the (Aryan) Baudḍha cult had displaced the ancient Tamil cults, and Aryan culture had so dominated the Tamil land that the characters of Maṇimēgalai have all Sanskrit names. The discussions on logic and metaphysics contained in this poem distinctly point to the VII century as the age before

which it could not have been composed.³⁷ The former poem on the other hand belongs to the age (VI century A. D.) when the Aryan culture and the Aryan religious cults had just made headway and the ancient Tamil culture and Tamil religious cults had not yet been driven down to the lowest strata of society and thus made to disappear from the purview of poets. The *Maṇimēgalai* is the Buddha rival of the Jaina epic, *Śivakazindāmaṇi* and not the companion-epic of *Śilappadigāram*, notwithstanding the relationship of the girl *Maṇimēgalai* to the courtesan *Mūḍavi*. The tales of reincarnations and the philosophical disputes in the *Maṇimēgalai*, form a sharp contrast to the proclamation of the priestess of *Korṟavai* and the consequent worship of the goddess in the *Vēṭṭavavari* and the dance of the cowherdresses to avert evil in the *Āycciyar Kuravai*, in canto II of *Śilappadigāram*, where the reader can see the actual process of the syncretization of Aryan and Tamil divinities which was then going on. The *Śilappadigāram* is certainly later than the poems in the early anthologies, for in *Agam*, *Vēṅgaḍam* is described as belonging partly to *Tiraiyar* and partly to *Kaḷḷar* and the famous temple on its top is not at all mentioned; but the *Śilappadigāram* describes two *Viṣṇu* shrines as existing in the period when it was written. It refers to "the beautiful sight of Him on whose breast resides *Śrī*, and who lies, while many hymn him, in the broad island of the *Kāvīri* beaten by the waves, on the serpent-couch, strong so as to be inaccessible, looking like the blue cloud lying so as to fit closely on to a gold coloured

³⁷ Vide an exhaustive study of the subject by S. Kuppaswami Śāstri, pp. 192-201, *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras I. ii.

hill; and the beautiful sight of the tall, red-eyed God (Viṣṇu) standing on the top of the high hill of Vēṅgaḍam, from which streamlets take their rise, while He shines with a garment made of gold flowers and wears a beautiful garland on His breast, and holds in His magnificent lotus hands the discus that kills enemies and the shank-shell white like milk, as stands the beautiful-hued cloud in the space between the sun and the moon which shine with rays that spread all round, being clothed in the creeper (called) the lightning and holding (in its hand) the bright bow."³

The description of the idols of Śrīraṅgam and Vēṅgaḍam in the Śīlappadigāram disproves once for all the theory of its contemporaneity with the later odes in

௪௪. வே மேக கொடும்பொற் குன்றத் தப்
பால்வீழித் தகவாறு பவத்தது போல
வாயிரம் வீசித்தெழு தலைபுடை யருத்திறத்
பாயந் பள்ளிப் பலத்தொழு தேத்த
வீழிதிடைக் காவிரி வியன்பெருத் தருத்தித்
நிருமலம் மாப்பன் கிடத்த வண்ணமும்
வீழ்நூர் அருவி வேங்கட மென்று
மோங்குமர் மலையத் துச்சி ர்நிறை
விரிகுதிர் நூலிறத் திங்குளம் விளங்கி
வீருமளங் கோங்கிய விடைவிடை தானத்து
பின்னுக் கொடி படுத்த விளங்குவீர் பூண்டு
என்னிற் மேக சிந்தறு போலப்
பறையணை கரழியும் பாவெண் கங்குளத்
தடைபெறு தாமரைத் தகவி னேத்தி
எவ்வின ரா மார்பிற் பூண்டு
பொலம்பு வாயையிற் பொலிந்து தோன்றிய
செங்க ணையோன் சிந்த வண்ணமும்.

Śil. xi. ll. 35-51.

the early four anthologies. This contemporaneity rests on the fact that Parāṇar sang of Kuttuvan who drove back the sea with his spear, and Ilāṅgōvaḍigal, the supposed author of canto III, among others, of the epic, sang of the great hero, Śōṅguttavan, believed to be the same person. But neither Parāṇar, nor others of his real contemporaries describe Vēṅgaḍam as having the famous temple on its top, a fact which no one singing of Vēṅgaḍam after the temple had become famous could omit to mention. Hence the author of Śilappadigāram, whoever he was, must have been a much later person than Parāṇar and lived when temples of the Aryan Viṣṇu cult had not only risen in the Tamil Country, but had acquired a very wide reputation for supreme holiness.

The argument from silence is of course a weak one; but, when taken into consideration along with others, it may be given some weight. The Vēṅgaḍam shrine had become so famous in the age of Śilappadigāram that the author when speaking of the northern boundary of the Tamil Country, calls it *neḍiyōṇ kuṇṇam*, 'the hill of Viṣṇu.'²⁹ The phrase comes so naturally that it is difficult to believe that such a description could have escaped the minds of the Āgam poets if the temple had reached in their time the eminence it did in the age of Śilappadigāram.

It may, also be remarked that the style of the Śilappadigāram strikes one as relatively more modern, and less charged with old words, than that of the odes of the early anthologies. It is certain that the modern man can follow the epic with much less difficulty than the old odes. The Maṇimēgalai looks still more recent

²⁹ Śil. viii. l. 1.

in vocabulary and even more easy to the modern man than the Śilappadigāram.

Before closing this section I wish to reiterate the conclusion, which I offer as a tentative hypothesis, that the Śilappadigāram is a double poem, each poem by a different author, cantos I and II being a splendid romantic poem and canto III being a legend about a mythical hero's exploits. To use it as a source of history would be like using Shakespeare as an authority on the geography of Bohemia or the Mid-summer Night's Dream as a historical poem. I request Tamil scholars acquainted with the principles of modern literary and historical criticism to further investigate the question and either confirm or disprove the hypothesis. The prologues and the epilogues and, to invent a term, the interlogues, being composed by later writers can, of course, be of little use in solving the problem.

CHAPTER XXX

THE WELDING OF THE OLD AND THE NEW.

The Pāṇḍiyas in the VI century:

Notwithstanding the 'Kālabhra interregnum,' a bad phrase invented by the epigraphists, because it suggests the wrong notion that the Pāṇḍiya power disappeared till it was restored at the end of the VI century by Kaṇṇōṅ, Pāṇḍiya chieftains must have flourished in the period. The colophons to the *Peram* odes mention seven Pāṇḍiya chiefs; the poets that sang of them were late ones, from whose other works it may be shown that they belonged to the VI century. Moreover the *Kalittogai* and other poems discussed in the immediately preceding chapters refer to Pāṇḍiyas generally without naming the kings: hence it may be inferred that they were kings whose power scarcely extended beyond their capitals. This made it possible for the Kālabhras to be soon driven off from the Madura district, a little before 600 A. D. and for the Pāṇḍiya power to be re-established throughout the Madura country. In the VI century, the Jāinas and the Śāivas and Vaiṣṇavas were struggling to gain popularity with the common people. In that century Śiva-worship gained so much popularity that numerous tales of miracles performed by the Śivan enshrined at Madura, including His formation of the Tamil Śāṅgam in that city, were evolved, for we find one of the Tales, viz. that the story of His entering the Śāṅgam and helping a poor Brāhmaṇa

Tarumi, to gain a purse of gold,¹ is referred to by Tiruvāvukkaraṣuṇāyanār,² very early in the VII century. In the Sixth century must have lived at Madura Mūrttināyanār, who, according to the Periyapurāṇam legend was persecuted by a Karnāṭarāja and who overthrew that Rāja and became king of Madura and re-established Śiva worship there.

The Śōla Country in the VI century :

The Jaina and the Śaiva, and the Vaiṣṇava cults spread largely in the Śōla territories in this epoch. It has been already pointed out that Śrīraṅgam had attained popularity before the Śilappadigāram was written. The Kōyiloḷuḡa, a legendary history of the Śrīraṅgam temple preserved in the temple records, speaks of an early Śōla king, who first unearthed the temple which had been (originally built by the gods?) and buried in the Kāviri alluvium. It also narrates the story of a Śōla king of Uṇaiyūr, whose daughter dedicated herself to the Śrīraṅgam deity, married him according to the Ārya ritual and then vanished, having attained union (Sāyujya) with the God. An idol of her is still worshipped in the temple of Uṇaiyūr. Whether there is any foundation in fact for these legends, they were certainly evolved in the VI century B. C., for after that century the Śōlas disappeared from history for more than two centuries.

Śēṅgaṇān :

A Śōla king of this period was Śēṅgaṇān. He is the hero of a poem by Poygaiyār (perhaps the same

¹ See Tiruvālavāyudaiyār Tiruvilaiyūdaṇ parāṇam 16, for the story.

² Vide p. 245 supra.

person as Poygaiyālvār, one of the earliest of the Vaiṣṇava hymnists). The poem is called Kaṭavaḷi Nāṇṇadu, and contains forty stanzas describing in a very bloodthirsty vein, the Śōḷa king's battle with Śēraṇ Kaṇaikkāl Irumborai.² The Periyapurāṇam has a legend that before being born as a Śōḷa king, he was a spider full of devotion to Śivan. Pārvati, in one of her mortal lives had worshipped a Śivaliṅgam in the bed of the Kāviri and the spider daily wove a web on the top of the liṅgam to protect it from the heat of the sun; but an elephant, also a devotee of that Śivan, brought water daily from the Kāviri in its trunk and washed the liṅgam and incidentally destroyed the spider's web. The spider, filled with religious fury, flew into the nose of the big beast, which, being suffocated, died. In its dying pangs, it beat its proboscis on the earth and the spider also died and was reborn as Śēṅgaṇān.

Though the hero of a legend, Śēṅgaṇān was a historic person. Tirumangai Ālvār, the Vaiṣṇava hymnist of the VIII century A. D. says Śēṅgaṇān built seventy beautiful temples to the "eight-shouldered Lord" (Śivan)³ and repeats in every stanza of the Tirumaṇaiyūṇ decade that he worshipped Viṣṇu enshrined in the temple of that village. The Śaiva hymnists, Tiruñānasambandar and Sundaramūrti, refer to Śēṅgaṇān's building Śiva-temples in very

² Vide p. 411 supra for a legend about these two kings.

³ இருக்கிலக்கு திருமொழியா யெண்டோ ஸீசற்கு
எழில்மாட மெருபதுசெய் துலகமாண்ட
திருக்குலத்து வளக்கோழன் சேர்ந்தகோயில்
திருகணையூர் மணிமாடம் சேர்மின்களே.

many poems of theirs*. When the Śaiva hagiology was finally made up in the IX century, Śeṅgaṇān was included in the list of the Sixty three Śaiva Saints (nāyanmār). But he was, as has been pointed out, also, a Vaiṣṇava devotee. He belonged to the end of the VI century A. D., when the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas were combining together in the common cause of the so-called Vedic orthodoxy as against the Bauddhas and the Jainas.

Kopperūñjōlan.

This Śōja monarch lived also in the VI century. In his ode (Puṇam 214) the Ārya doctrine of reincarnation is discussed. He also underwent, along with some courtier bards, the Jaina ceremony of Sallekhana, called in Tamil, 'Sitting in the north.' Whereas other kings killed themselves to wipe out the disgrace of defeat, he did it for the purpose of release from embodied existence, and therefore he must have been a Jaina.

In the Śēra country.

The Śēra country, called Damirike by the Greeks, came earlier under Aryan influence than the rest of South India. Therefore we find in the odes dedicated to the Śēra kings and in the Padirūppatu plenty of

* Go to the ornamented temple of Tirunāraiṇur, which was resorted to by the Śōja of the fortunate family, who ruled the earth and built seventy beautiful temples to the eight-shouldered Iṣvara whose mouth shines with the holy words of the Rg Veda.

* For instance, Tiruñānasambandar's decade on Tiruvaiganmāḍakkol, st. 1, 4, 5, and on Tiruvambar, st. 1, Sundaramūrti's on Tirunannilam, st. 10, and on Tirunāraiṇur, st. 1,

evidence of the fact that that country was more completely Aryanized than the Pāṇḍiya and the Śōḷa lands.

Temples :

Before the IV century A. D., of Arya temples there were few or none in the Tamil country. In the VI century, we learn that Kāñcī, Vēṅṇadāṁ, Śrīrangam, and Madura temples had become famous. From the VII century onwards, the hymnists sang in praise of numerous temples in the Pallava, Śōḷa, Pāṇḍiya and Śēra provinces. Therefore all these, which are the living temples of South India, i.e., those which are renowned for their holiness ever since the hymnists sang of them and where pūja is still being daily performed, must have arisen in the VI century A. D. Śēṅgaṇ's was only one specimen of the extensive temple-building activities of this century. These temples were of timber and brick, the latter being used chiefly for the foundation. The old Indian forests had not yet been entirely destroyed and so there was plenty of timber available for building temples. As in Travancore to-day, the timber-roof was probably covered with copper-sheets and rarely with plates of gold, as Karikāl "renewed the temple of Kāñcī with gold." Mahendra Pallava (c. 600-625 A.D.) first started the fashion of stone temples, by excavating them from the sides of hills. His successor, Narasimha, carved whole rocks into temples. Structural temples then began to appear and the early Tanjore Śōḷa kings (IX and X centuries A. D.) pulled down and rebuilt in stone the garbhagṛhas (small inner shrines) of all these temples. These early Śōḷa structures consisted but of a small shrine and a 'half-maṇḍapa' in front and no more. In later times were added more maṇḍapas, and procession paths walled in and numerous additional shrines, and

the temple became so complex in structure that it offends against the taste of the foreign art-critic who looks for unity of design and finds none. A few of these Śōja shrines were pulled down in later times, and rebuilt on a larger scale. This process is going on in our own times, so that when we say that a certain temple is ancient, we mean that the temple sites as well as possibly the original stone or brick or wooden idol, and not the building, belongs to old times.

The Gods. With the rise to popularity of Śivan and Viṣṇu, the old Tamil Gods were either amalgamated with the newer ones or otherwise assimilated with them or practically died out. Thus Māyōn easily became Kṛiṣṇa specifically as in the Malabar country or Viṣṇu generally in other places. Sāyōn coalesced with Subrahmanya; the sky-god and the sea-god practically disappeared, for it is in the rich valleys or the richer seaports that Śivan and Viṣṇu have triumphed. The tree-gods have become one with Śiva, and animal totems like the kite, the ape, the elephant, the bull, the rat, the peacock and the serpent have become vehicles or ornaments or parts of the bodies of the major gods. Sakti, whose worship became popular late even in Northern India and that as the rival of the Buddha worship of Tūrā, became generally in South India, Lakṣmī, wife of Viṣṇu or Pārvatī, wife of Śiva, who shine in the reflected glory of their husbands, where they are given a place in temples. The boundary and other petty spirits still claim the allegiance of the less advanced people and proved too insignificant to be absorbed.

The Bhakti cult:

It has been often pointed out in this book that the concrete appealed to the Tamil mind much more than

the abstract, that the Tamils were incurable optimists in that they did not regard the joys that Providence has provided for men in this world as sinful in themselves, and they did not consider that the "objects of the senses", as the Āryas called them, existed only to be renounced; hence developed amongst them poetry of the most realistic type. It is therefore but to be expected that when to the Tamils were presented numerous marvellous stories of Viṣṇu and Śivan appearing frequently in human bodies for the purpose of helping men in their material and spiritual difficulties, they became passionately attached to one or the other of these Gods. The Bauddha and the Jaina cults, when they first appeared in Northern India, depended for their popularity on the personal devotion of their adherents to their human founders, the Siddhatta and the Jina. But very soon this personal devotion vanished from their minds and was succeeded by the endless verbiage of metaphysical subtleties. This, and not persecution by men, was the real cause of the decline of those cults within a few centuries of their birth. Not logical word-chopping, but rich emotional experience, can alone be the proper pabulum for the religiously inclined mind. When these two cults competed with the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava cults in South India, they were overlaid with the metaphysical outgrowth which choked out all mystic experience and hence they collapsed before the worship of Śivan or Viṣṇu, which enabled the devotees to feel the flow of the fertilizing stream of what they felt to be God's grace into their souls. So the Śaiva and the Vaiṣṇava cults spread to the exclusion of the Bauddha and Jaina cults and have produced an endless stream of devotional literature, whereas Tamil Bauddha and Jaina literature dried up in a few centuries.

No doubt the metaphysics of the Sāṅkhya and the Vedānta did enter into the cults of Śiva and Viṣṇu in course of time, and produces an outcrop of philosophical books in Tamil, but the essential nature of these religions has not been affected by these philosophies; Viṣṇu and Śivan have continued to hold the imagination of the masses as foci of devotion "unbroken as the flow of oil" to a Personal Lord, and the inspiring aim of these cults has continued to be to seek personal salvation by the means of the voluntary flow of Divine Grace.

This unbounded devotion to a Personal God has found concrete expression in the numerous temples that raise their lofty heads in every mile of the Tamil land. But, what is more, it has led to an extraordinary development of devotional singing and devotional dancing, which constitute the outward expression of the Bhakti Mārga. Singing and dancing always formed the essential feature of religion in Tamil India from the earliest times, and when Śivan or Viṣṇu became the Nāyakan, the Lord, these Gods became not only the objects towards whom these activities were directed but Themselves became the exponents of these arts, Śiva of dancing and Kṛṣṇa of singing. One result of this is that Art never became secular and will continue to be religious, so long as Tamil civilization endures.

The outward expression of Bhakti to Viṣṇu or Śivan by means of singing and dancing was very much developed in the Tamil country during the glorious days of the Tamil Empire (IX to XIII cent. A. D.) In this period of Tamil expansion, the specific Tamil forms of the Bhakti Mārga spread to Teliṅgāna and the Seūna dēśam; and

the famous Pandharpūr school of Bhakti arose. Thence were developed other North Indian schools of Bhakti, like the Kabīr Panthā, and the Caitanya Matam, which latter, though in its philosophical aspect affiliated to the teachings of Rāmānuja and Madhva, is yet in its actual practice, an extreme form of singing and dancing Bhakti.

The Jñāna Mārga:

From early times, Brāhmaṇas of South India, took a prominent part in the development of Āryan thought of all forms. Nāgārjuna, the great Ācārya of one of the later developments of the Buddha doctrine was a Southerner and probably a native of Kāñcī.

"As a sorcerer he (i.e. Nāgārjuna) is glorified in the text Grub-thob brgyad-cu-rtsa-bshihi rnam-thar . . . which refers back to an unknown Sanskrit original. In the same sense and in similar connection he is mentioned in the Pag-baam-ljon-bzan of Sum-pa mkhan-po ye-ces dpal-hbyor p. 121 et seq. According to this, Nāgārjuna who had sprung from a Brahmin caste is said to have received the magic powers (siddhi) from Tārā during his stay at Kahora, a part of Kāñcī in Eastern India, thereupon to have gone away at a time of general distress, after having surrendered all his possessions in favour of the Brahmins of Kahora and to have proceeded over the Śītavana (near Rājagṛha) to Nālanda where he became a monk and attained the zenith of his knowledge in the five sciences. Hereupon, from aversion to preaching he enchanted the Tārā and beheld her countenance. When also here accommodation and food became short, he returned to his native soil, went later again to Rājagṛha where he remained twelve years, then to Mount

Ghaṭṭācārya and herefrom to the Śrīparvata in the south where he spent the rest of his long life."⁶

Dinnāga, Buddhadatta, and Dharmakīrti, were other Southerners who wrote on Buddhistic logic or doctrines.

A Bauddhāyana wrote a *vytti* on the *Mīmāṃsā*, both *pūrva* and *uttara*, called *Kṛtakōṭi*.⁷ It has been recently discovered by S. Kuṇḍaswāmi Śāstrī that Ācārya Sundara Pāṇḍya was the person whose *vārttika* was quoted by Śaṅkarācārya in his commentaries on Vedānta Sūtra I. i. 4. ⁸ A book on Ethics, called *Nīti dvī saṣṭika*, attributed to Sundara Pāṇḍya, has been very recently discovered and printed; ⁹ as quotations from it occur in the *Pañcatantra* and the *Janārayi*, it appears that Ācārya Sundara Pāṇḍya must have lived before the VI century A. D. ¹⁰ Sundara Pāṇḍya being a well-known name of several kings, there is a temptation to identify this Ācārya with a king of Madura. I cannot think of any Pāṇḍya king capable of writing such works. I think Sundara Pāṇḍya merely means Sundara of the Pāṇḍya country.

From the VIII century onwards upto our own days have risen a series of intellectual giants in Southern India, who have shaped the philosophical thought of the whole of the country. The first of these was Śaṅkarācārya, whose advaita exposition of the Vedānta

⁶ M. Walleser. The life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese sources, p. 3.

⁷ Journal of Indian History, I. xiii pp. 107-113.

⁸ Journal of Oriental Research I. i. pp. 5-15.

⁹ By V. Prabhākara Śāstrī.

¹⁰ M. Ramakṛṣṇa Kavi in the preface to *Nītidviṣaṣṭika*.

is the highwater mark of philosophical thinking, which is not mere speculation but the achievement of mystic experience in which is realized the identity of the life of the individual and that of the cosmos, or, to be more accurate, the ātmā knows itself to exist and nothing else. The pursuit of this has to be conducted on a path keen as a razor's edge, and is associated with supreme difficulty (kleśodhikara). The next was Rāmānuja who brought about a compromise between the stern Vedānta and the facile (Vaiṣṇava) Āgama paths. Anandatīrtha emphasised the Āgama factor a little more than Rāmānuja. Thence were developed the religio-philosophical systems, usually called Baiṣṇav in Northern India. Other South Indian ācāryas, like Nīlakanṭha Śivācārya, have blended the Vedānta and Śaiva and Śākta Āgama teachings and practices and these have influenced the growth of the Śaiva and Śākta disciplines of North India.

Thus as it was in the very remote past, so it has been in the comparatively recent past, South India has acted as the heart of India throughout the ages. In the very early Stone Age, South India alone was inhabited by man, for relics of primitive human workmanship have been found only on the low hills born from the break-up of the Deccan plateau. Then man migrated to the river-valleys of South as well as North India. Iron was discovered and saddled to the service of man in South India; it spread thence to the North, before 3000 B. C., to serve the needs of the Saindhava culture, evidence of whose existence in the remote past has been wrenched recently from the jealous bosom of the earth. Some time after arose in North India, the culture called Ārya, which from its inception was associated with literature and has hence claimed the devotion of scholars.

This Ārya culture ultimately led to the development of various schools of philosophy and methods of divine worship and spiritual discipline in North India in historic times. When this highly complicated Aryan culture fertilized the Tamil genius which till then concerned itself only with realistic literature and the arts of religious singing and dancing, there arose a sudden upheaval of the spirit in the artistic and religious aspects of its life, what one might call a conflagration of artistic and religious fire, with two brilliant flames-tongues—that called Bhakti and that called Jñāna, the lights of which have been directing the footsteps of all Hindus in the search for spirituality. Hence South India has been the source of most things characteristically Hindu, in the present as in the remote past, and the orientation of Indian history will be correct only if the important part played in its unbroken development by the Tamils is correctly apprehended and it is realized that South India did not plough a lonely furrow during the ages but acted as the perpetual spring whence the life-giving waters of science, art, and religion have been steadily flowing especially in recent times to the rest of this vast country of Bhāratavarṣa.

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